Eighty-eighth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 175: No. 3.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.

September, 1902.

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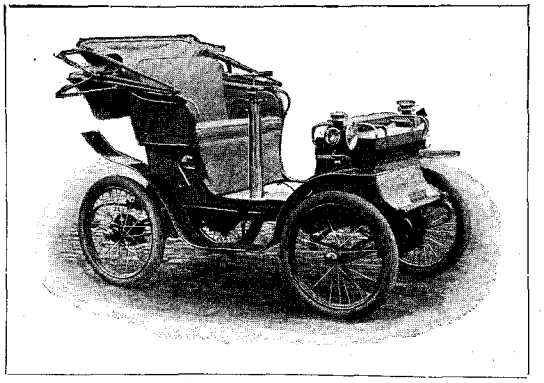

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

JAMES LANE ALLEN,

whose name is familiar to those who have watched the development of American literature in recent years, is a native of Kentucky. After taking his degree in Transylvania University, he taught for a time in the University of Kentucky, and later was appointed Professor of Latin and Higher English in Bethany College in West Virginia. Since 1886, he has given his entire attention to literature, and his works have enjoyed a high popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. Among his published works are "Flute and Violin," "The Blue Grass Region and Other Sketches of Kentucky," "John Gray," "The Kentucky Cardinal," "The Choir Invisible" and "The Reign of Law."

HAMLIN GARLAND

was the subject of a note in the REVIEW for April last, to which he contributed an article on "The Red Man's Present Needs."

H. W. MABIE.

A note regarding Mr. Mabie will be found in the REVIEW for November, 1901, which contained an article from his pen on "American Opportunities and Education."

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS,

conspicuous among the most facile, fertile and versatile of contemporary writers, has not infrequently employed his rare faculty of humor, through which he has amused and delighted hosts of readers, to enforce sane views upon serious subjects. He was born in Yonkers, New York, in 1862, and, having graduated at Columbia University in 1883, he studied law. His tastes, however, led him to a literary life. He was associate-editor of "Life" from 1884 to 1888, when he assumed the conduct of "The Editor's Drawer" and "Literary Notes" in "Harper's Magazine." In 1898-9, he edited "Literature," on the discontinuance of which he became editor of "Harper's Weekly." Among his best-known works are "A House-Boat on the Styx," "The Pursuit of the House-Boat," "Mr. Bonaparte of Corsica," "Coffee and Repartee," "The Idiot," "The Idiot at Home," "Ghosts I have Met," "The Booming of Acre Hill," "The Bicyclers" and "Olympian Nights."

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SIDNEY WEBSTER

was the subject of a short note in the number of the REVIEW for June, 1901, for which he wrote an article entitled "Revelations of a Senate Document."

E. W. HILGARD

was born at Zweibrücken in Rhenish Bavaria in 1833, and was brought to this country when his parents emigrated to it in 1836. He received his elementary education at Belleville, Illinois, but went for his university course to Heidelberg, where he graduated in 1853. He studied also at Zurich and Freiberg. In 1855 he was appointed State Geologist of Mississippi, a post which he retained for eighteen years. From 1873 to 1875, he was Professor of Geology and Natural History in the University of Michigan, and since the latter date he has been Professor of Agriculture in the University of California, and Director of the California Agricultural Experiment Station. In recognition of his services to science, the Munich Academy of Sciences conferred upon him the Liebig medal for distinguished achievements.

H. G. DWIGHT

was born in 1875 and educated in New England, graduating from Amherst College in 1898. For the ensuing three years he was connected with the American Consulate in Venice, during the latter part of the time acting as Deputy-Consul. While in Venice, Mr. Dwight was correspondent of several prominent American journals, and having abandoned the consular service, he is now engaged in literary work.

ARTHUR SYMONS

is of Cornish parentage and was born in Wales in 1865. He is a writer of prose and verse, and a regular contributor to the "Athenæum," the "Saturday Review" and other English journals. Among the books published by him may be mentioned "An Introduction to the Study of Browning," "Days and Nights," "Silhouettes," "London Nights" and "Studies in Two Literatures."

EUSEBIO A. MORALES

is a citizen of Colombia and a lawyer of high standing who practises in the City of Panama. He has been a close and interested observer of the course of political and economical affairs in his own country for many years.

ELBRIDGE L. ADAMS

is a son of the Hon. William H. Adams, Presiding Justice of

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the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York in the Fourth Department. He was born at Canandaigua, New York, in 1866 and graduated from Williams College in 1887. Since 1889 he has practised law in Rochester, New York. He was a member of the Municipal Civil Service Commission of Rochester, under several administrations, for seven years. Mr. Adams was counsel for the successful parties in the right of privacy case, the judicial decisions in which form the text for his contribution to this number.

A. M. Wergeland

is Professor of History in the University of Wyoming, a Norwegian by birth and a member of the literary family of which the famous poet, Henrik Wergeland, was the most distinguished ornament. Professor Wergeland studied music for a time under Grieg, and has been a close student of folk-music and the history of music.

Geo. M. Sternberg

took his medical degree at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York in 1860. He was appointed assistant-surgeon in the United States Army in 1861; captain and assistant-surgeon in 1866; major and surgeon in 1875; lieutenant-colonel and deputy surgeon-general in 1891; and brigadier-general and surgeon-general in 1893. It is but a few months since he retired from the army. He first served in the Army of the Potomac and afterwards in the Department of the Gulf. At the end of the Civil War, he was in charge of the United States General Hospital in Cleveland, Ohio. General Sternberg has served through cholera and yellow-fever epidemics, and he had charge of the medical service in the war with Spain. In 1898 he was president of the American Medical Association.

Lieut.-Commander Roy C. Smith, U. S. N.,

entered the Naval Academy in 1874. He has cruised in the Pacific, aboard the "Pensacola," flagship of Rear-Admiral C. R. P. Rodgers, and subsequently aboard the "Quinnebaug" in the Mediterranean, and aboard the "Yorktown" and "Boston," of the original White Squadron, under Rear-Admiral Walker. He has commanded the torpedo-boats "Stiletto" and "Cushing"; and in the war with Spain he was attached to the "Indiana," and was present at the battle of Santiago. In 1885-88, he was Instructor in Mathematics and Physics at the Naval Academy. At the Newport Torpedo

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Station, he carried out, under Captain Converse, in 1892-95, the experiments to test the endurance of life in a submerged boat in proximity to exploding charges of gun-cotton; and he was inspector of torpedo-boats building in New England from 1898 to 1900, during which time he was Lecturer on Military and Naval Science at Harvard University. Since 1901, he has been attached to the battle-ship "Massachusetts" as navigator. In 1897, he was awarded the gold medal and prize of the United States Naval Institute for an essay on "Torpedo-Boat Policy."

HERBERT C. HOWE

is Professor of English Literature in the University of Oregon. He is a graduate of Cornell University, and for some time was private secretary of President Schurman.

G. F. KUNZ,

one of the best-known collectors and writers on art in the United States, was born in New York City in 1856. At the age of twenty, he represented, at the Centennial Exposition, the American Museum of Natural History. Since then he has attended in an official capacity the Paris Expositions in 1889 and 1900, the South-African Exhibition in Kimberley in 1890, and the Exhibitions at Chicago, Atlanta, Nashville, Omaha, Buffalo and Turin. He has received the decoration from the French Government of Officer of Public Instruction.

MAGGIORINO FERRARIS

was born at Acqui, Piedmont, in 1856. He was educated at Genoa and Turin. In 1878, he went to University College, London, to study under Professor Jevons, and afterwards to Berlin University, where he was a pupil of Professor Adolf Wagner. Since 1886 he has represented Acqui in the Chamber of Deputies. He was a member of the Crispi Cabinet in 1893-96. Signor Ferraris is the editor and proprietor of the "*Nuova Antologia.*" Of late, his name has been prominently connected with a movement for improving the conditions of travel in Italy, so as to attract foreign tourists to the country, to promote which he established a National Association at Rome.

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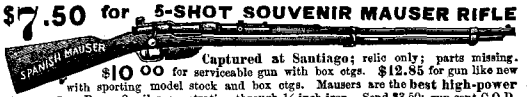

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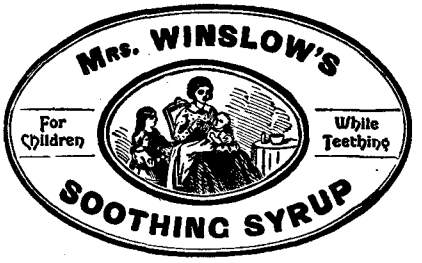

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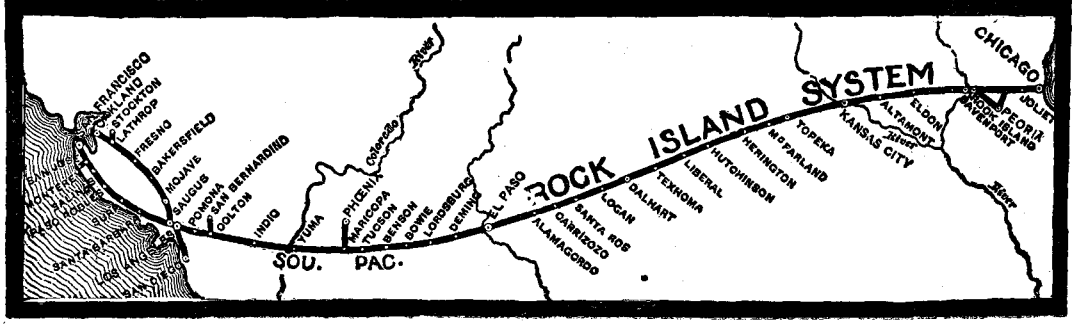

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DL.

SEPTEMBER, 1902.

WILL THE NOVEL DISAPPEAR?

BY JAMES LANE ALLEN, WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, HAMLIN GARLAND, HAMILTON W. MABIE, AND JOHN KENDRICK BANGS.

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"'But the romance, the novel, the descriptive story, the story historic, and the story psychological?'

"'They will all disappear,' said M. Verne. 'They are not necessary, and even now their merit and their interest are fast declining. As historic records, the world will file its newspapers. Newspaper writers have learned to color every-day events so well that to read them will give posterity a truer picture than the historic or descriptive novel could do; and as for the novel psychological, that will soon cease to be, and will die of inanition in your own lifetime.'

"Here M. Jules Verne got excited. 'I am second to no living man,' he cried, 'in my admiration of the greatest psychologist the world has ever known—Guy de Maupassant—and he, like all true geniuses, foresaw the trend of human ideas and needs, and wrote his stories in the smallest possible compass. Each one of De Maupassant's soul studies is a concentrated lozenge of psychology. The De Maupassants who will delight the world in years to come will do so in the newspapers of the

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day, and not in volumes, and they will, as you newspaper men express it, crystallize the psychology of the world in which they live by "writing up" the day-to-day events. The real psychology of life is in its news, and more truth—truth with a big T—can be gathered from the police-court story, the railway accident, from the every-day doings of the crowd, and from the battles of the future, than can be obtained if an attempt is made to clothe the psychological moral in a garb of fiction.'"—*From an interview with Jules Verne, printed in the London* DAILY MAIL.

I.

M. JULES VERNE is reported as thinking that the novel will disappear in fifty or a hundred years. He bares his reasons. Novels will not be needed; hence, there will be no novels. Novels are declining in merit; hence, there will be no novels. In future, there will be newspapers, and the world will file them as its historic records for posterity; hence, there will be no novels.

Whatsoever else a Frenchman may not be, when in earnest he is sure to be logical. The absence of logic here may conceivably be accounted for on the ground that M. Verne was not in earnest. He is a very keen, subtle, humorous Frenchman; he seems to have been in a playful mood; he may have wished to elude his interviewer; he is an old master of extravaganza and of hoax. Possibly, when the grave Englishman had captured these volatile statements and airy nothings, and taken leave, M. Verne may have shrugged his shoulders and congratulated himself that he is not an Anglo-Saxon. Any serious consideration of his views scarcely seems worth while.

Of course the novel is not going to disappear from the literature of the human race because M. Jules Verne possibly states that it will not be needed. The statement is commonly made now that the novel is not needed now. The statement was positively made a hundred years ago that the novel was not needed then. In every generation will be found persons of the highest authority (in other matters) to declare that stories of the imagination are not needed at any time. They settle the question for themselves. But they never settle it for the other portion of the human race, which insists that such stories are needed, always have been needed, always will be needed, for many reasons—one of these being that they add to the innocent and noble pleasures of life. The mind of the race in the past will continue to be the mind of the race in the future—on this subject: except that it will call more

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and more for the development of the fine art of fiction to the end of time.

As to the second point, that novels are now declining in merit, and that hence hereafter there will be none, there is room for difference of opinion as to whether or not the novel is at present declining in all the countries that produce it. It is certainly declining in some. But suppose it to be declining everywhere. Must the conclusion follow that it will keep on declining everywhere till it is finally extinct? Once in Greece dramatic literature declined in merit. Once in Italy the art of writing history declined in merit. Once in France comedy declined in merit. Repeatedly in England novel-writing has declined in merit. But not one of these kept on declining everywhere. The history of no art is a long dead level or a long dead gain. It consists of movements, of periods of renascence and decadence. If the novel were now declining in merit throughout the world, in such a fact would lie the simple presumption that in the future it will be revived.

As to the third point—that the race will in future read newspapers, instead of novels, and will file the former as its best records for posterity—it might be suggested that posterity has nothing to do with the question. Newspapers are not issued as documents for posterity. One might as well say that the mastodon lived in order that its bones could be filed in a museum as a document for the zoölogist. If any novelist ever wrote a novel in order that the historian of posterity might find in it a document, he may be sure that such a historian is the only person who will ever read it. Neither newspapers nor novels are written for posterity. They may thus come into competition when they are dead, but so long as they are alive they no more interfere with each other than eating and drinking. While you eat you cannot drink, while you drink you cannot eat. But most people like to do both. It would be as reasonable to declare that the sounds which constitute noise will hereafter supplant the sounds which constitute music.

JAMES LANE ALLEN.

II.

Most men now nearing the Psalmist's limit will readily recall how in their hot youth there was much talk of the novel and its very immediate evanescence. The talk was more in print than

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out of it, for the notion was one of those that people like to scare themselves with, while keeping a safe corner of unbelief below that surface mind which is chiefly employed in the higher journalism. They could bring plentiful proof of it in their articles and essays, but when it came to urging the notion by word of mouth, in the face of immeasurable and undiminished novel-reading around them, they were mostly mute. The year 1870, say, no more marked a decline in fiction, or in the passion for it, than any other year of our era, or any of those years of the world that run back to the beginning. The cave-dweller, sitting at his cavern door in the cool of the evening, and absently picking out the simple chords of stone-age music on the sinews stretched upon the thigh-bone of the brother he had eaten, listened with the same rapture to the tarradiddles of some gifted neighbor as the twentieth-century maiden feels in hanging over the page of the largest-selling book of the actual summer; and when time is getting ready to be no more, the Last Man shall say to the Next to the Last, "Now that we are not likely to be interrupted, here is a little thing of mine in three volumes that I would like to read you before we die"; and the Next to the Last Man will gather himself into an attitude of comfortable attention, and cling to each fleeting breath in the hope that the universal asphyxiation will spare him till he knows whether They get married.

It is our strong conviction of these facts which has enabled us to read with less alarm than we otherwise might an interview with M. Jules Verne which the London *Daily Mail* has printed, concerning the future of the novel. It is M. Verne's opinion that the novel has no future, but is destined, within the next century, "to be supplanted altogether by the daily newspaper, which has already taken such a grip of the progressive nations." He thinks that the world will soon begin to file its newspapers, as historic records, and that the reporters of every-day events have already begun "to color them so that they will give posterity a truer picture than the historic novel," and we agree with him that this might easily be. The average reporting on its own plane is certainly much better art than the average historical novelling, but the reporter will have still to refine very much upon his methods if he is to do the effect of the psychological fiction which M. Verne says men now living shall see the end of.

We think M. Verne reasons from particulars to generals with

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too bold a despair. He himself formerly wrote a kind of fiction which we ourselves found entirely delightful: frank, fearless in design, scientific in its facts, inherently impossible, but preserving a respect for probability at every step, convincing of its reality by the author's air of absolute sincerity, and embodying a sort of rude, elementary character with a charming bonhomie—we should willingly have had it go on forever. But apparently the rest of the world would not, and no one thinks now of reading a Jules Verne novel any more than M. Jules Verne thinks of writing one. But because there shall be no more *Fur Countries* and *Hector Servadacs,* and *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Seas,* and *Mysterious Islands,* shall there be no more cakes and ale? Aye, but there shall, and the ginger shall be hot in the mouth still. M. Verne has naturally argued from his own case, but he has not the less mistakenly done so; and incapable himself of the psychological novel, he has ingenuously but erroneously accused it of inanition. In his impatience with this, the supreme type of fiction, he has said in his heart, "There shall be no more fiction," and he no doubt believes it.

But, clearly, M. Verne has taken the passing of a manner of fiction for the passing of fiction itself. As this never had a knowable beginning, it will never have a knowable end. Novels of adventure, novels of character, novels of fashionable life, novels of crime and novels of its detection, novels of art and novels of business, novels of incident and novels of analysis—they all come and they all go,

"And change, and pass, and turn again,"

but the novels remain; and it is probable that the psychological novel will be the most enduring as it has been the most constant phase of fiction. Every other kind of novel lives or dies by so much or so little psychology as it has in it. Plots are really nothing as to vitality. They are all so shop-worn that it is wonderful anyone has the face to take them down from the shelf and offer them to a customer. Every moving accident, by flood, by fire, by frost, by falls from precipices, and by fights in imminent deadly breaches, by midnight burglaries and noonday robberies, has been used again and again, so that but for the renewal of the race from generation to generation the dealer in them would be mobbed at his counter. That which is as forever new as to-mor-

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row morning, and much newer than to-morrow morning's paper, is the fascination of man for man, not to say the fascination of man for woman, or the reverse. Who cares for a frightful catastrophe, when he can have a divorce case? Who would prefer a battle in the Philippines to an engagement in Newport? What is a murder compared to a murder trial? In the catastrophe, and the battle, and the murder, we have the gross impersonal fact, the material of that novel of incident which is dead or dying, except in the interest of the innocent and the vulgar; and in the divorce, the engagement, the trial, we have the psychological romance which M. Verne is so much mistaken in supposing about to perish.

It is imperishable. Wherever two human beings, or twenty, meet, it springs up and flourishes from their talk. It hangs its orchid blossoms from stems rooted in the viewless air, and yet this divine miracle is as common as the grass under our feet. Listen to the gossips over their afternoon tea, or when they meet with their milk-pails in the lane at twilight, and as soon as they begin the old, eternal question of their neighbors, and their affairs, and their motives, you have the psychological novel, which shall never die. No, dear M. Jules Verne, there never was a person more widely astray in his premises or farther from the truth in his conclusions than you, either as to the novel in general or the psychological novel in particular. Even the poor, despised historical novel is fast grounded in the ignorance and imbecility of the race, and it will not be superseded by the newspaper story, or by every-day fact masking as fiction. The reporter's coloring may be no cruder than the romancer's, but his work is necessarily more hurried. He writes with the hungry linotyper at his elbow, ready to digest his material into type, and the press vibrating with impatience for his tale, which must be unvarnished, however vividly tinted. He is a good fellow, the reporter, and far better than some people would have him believe, but his art in its honesty is not invention; and when it becomes so, it is false and bad. He can very well develop on his own lines; there is ever so much outcome in him; but any one, even an aging and outworn novelist, who would have him believe that he is in any wise akin to the novelist, or even to the lowly historian, flatters him to his undoing.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

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III.

As usual, M. Jules Verne has given us food for reflection in pronouncing the doom of the novel, but I for one, though willing to admit that the novel will change (nothing in this world is more certain than change), am not convinced that the merit and interest of the novel are declining, nor that they are being subordinated by the newspapers. Seventy-five years ago the newspapers were few and small, and without dramatic interest, and there were not a half-dozen novels of any circulation in this country. To-day there are thousands of editions and millions of copies circulated every year. The newspapers have made corresponding growth. They circulate in billions, in tons. They long ago cut into the magazine field with their Sunday editions, but I do not find that they have cut into the circulation of the novel; on the contrary, they have widened the dominion of the novel by educating readers from devouring fact to consuming the novelists' artistic recreation of fact. I am willing to admit also that fiction is becoming each day more widespread, more democratic, and less of a set academic performance—in short, that it is becoming each day more contemporaneous. But I think M. Verne confuses the newspaper's function as a medium of conveying fiction to its readers with the actual production of the novel. As a means of dispersing literature the daily newspaper is likely to become all-important, but the production of the novel will go on quite independently of any medium of transmission. The reading public will produce the change, and there is no indication in America to-day that the public of the novelist is decreasing; rather would it seem that fiction is but just laying hold upon the millions living outside the circles of professed patrons of literature. Our people seem disposed not only to read the fiction of the world—of the past—but are ready to devour all that pours from our presses. Apparently the era of big circulation for novels has but begun. As to the *form* in which fiction will circulate—that is another question. There are, I believe, fewer stories printed serially in the newspapers now than ten years ago. The story syndicates are passing rather than coming on.

As to the truth and power of newspaper delineation of the facts of human life, I think M. Verne is in the wrong, so far as America is concerned. Our papers grow each day more instantaneous, and their views of life are like snap-shots by means of a kodak. Edi-

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tion follows edition like reports from a Gatling gun. The thunder of the presses is incessant. Fiction, in the true sense of the word —calm and fateful delineation of human life—will never come from the swarming offices of our metropolitan dailies, but they may print and distribute stories as good as the best. The snap-judgment of the reporter seeking sensation and dealing with the abnormal in human life will never become a dangerous rival to the novelist who works at leisure and in repose, verifying what he writes from week to week as his story unrolls. From the sociological stand-point, the newspaper deals too largely with crime, with the abnormal, the diseased, to be in any sense a true chronicle of our time. The really dangerous rival of the novel, in my judgment, is the drama. We are soon to have an enormous revival of dramatic delineation of human life—a new drama, vivid, swift, humorous, and absolutely contemporaneous. Our ever-increasing centres of population demand the drama, and they will have it. The theatre is to be the rival of both fiction and journalism.

HAMLIN GARLAND.

IV.

M. Jules Verne, who has made effective use of modern methods and discoveries to give fiction journalistic interest, is reported to have expressed the opinion that there will be no "novels or romances, at all events in volume form, in fifty or a hundred years from now. . . . They will be supplanted altogether by the daily newspaper, which has already taken such a grip of the lives of the progressive nations. . . . They are not necessary, and even now their merit and their interest are fast declining."

M. Verne is always imaginative, and sometimes interesting; but neither as a critic of literature nor as a prophet of things to come has he yet established his authority. Men have been telling one another stories since the first days when they met at springs or places of barter; the story is, in all literatures, one of the earliest literary forms; it is, in almost all literatures to-day, the most vital and popular form. The early story-tellers began by being entertaining; that was their only duty and their most engaging quality; the story-tellers of to-day are studying every condition of human life and every form of human experience. The novel has not only gained immensely in all the qualities of good workmanship, but it has sunk its roots into the depths of

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modern life. At the moment no books are so widely read as novels, and the recent sales of popular stories have been so entirely beyond all former records that they have alarmed those anxious persons who are always expecting the decline of serious writing, and perplexed those who thought they knew something about the purchasing capacity of the American public. It may be that the novel is about to expire in a blaze of popularity, but it is more probable that M. Jules Verne has been making another journey to the moon. It is a course of travel which literary prophets have taken before his day and will continue to take to the end of time. It is an amusing and interesting journey, and it is free from expense.

The fact seems to be that the love of the story is born in every child because he has no imagination and does not know precisely what is coming to him in the way of good or evil fortune. Men instinctively dramatize their experience because they have discovered that life is not a series of unrelated happenings, that one thing flows out of another, that the grapes which the fathers eat must be digested by the children, that a man's deeds have a way of lying in wait for him long after he has forgotten them, and that it is the unexpected which happens. So long as life is dramatic and men have imagination they will delight to tell and to hear stories, and the dreadful possibility of a world in which the *Arabian Nights* and *Vanity Fair* have been expelled by the newspapers may be dismissed.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

V.

I quite agree with M. Jules Verne in his prophecy that the novel is passing, and that in a hundred years from now there will be no such form of literature, or at least not as we know it. History is being made so rapidly nowadays, events are piling up so quickly and in such enormous quantity, that the men and women of the future will have no time to read the story, which, whatever its intrinsic motives, is, after all, *pour passer le temps*. It will require all the leisure of that future public to keep abreast of their own times, and consequently the novel will cease to exist, unless, of course, the ideal publisher who publishes just for the fun of it comes into being with other improvements of the age—which is a doubtful prospect. Nevertheless, the same thirst for the story

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of love and life which is inherent in our weak human nature will be as strong as ever, and it will be satisfied by the genius of the future, just as our present-day geniuses are satisfying all the immediate aspirations of men. If wireless telegraphy, why not bookless romances, typeless novels, pageless poems? We already have jokeless comic papers. These things are surely coming, and I foresee the day when without novels, poetry, or drama the public will be surfeited with romances and tales of the most stirring character; poems of stately measure and uplifting concept; psychological studies of the deepest dye; and dramas that will take the soul of man and twist it until it fairly shrieks for mercy—and all of these things men and women will get while they sleep. It is my impression that the literature of that period will be induced by pills taken before retiring and acting immediately thereafter. The man who wants a poem of a certain kind will swallow what, for the lack of a better term, we may call "The Alfred Austin Pellet," and live the resulting poem in his dreams. Then there will be "Caine's Capsules for Creepy Creatures," each guaranteed to contain ten grains of gloom, and absolutely free from humor, lightness, sunshine, or other deleterious substances, and which, taken three times a day, will enable every man to be his own "Manxman." In the drama "The Belasco Tabloid" will induce dreams that will make Du Barry seem like a Rollo book in contrast, and so it will go. Some clever druggist will meet the literary necessities of the hour, and put up all the literature that anybody can possibly want in small doses, in every variety, and at a price which will bring it within the reach of all. It will be a great boon, and will enable thousands of men who might otherwise have been novelists, poets, or playwrights to turn their back on letters and take up some really useful occupation.

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS.

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THE NEW PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

BY SIDNEY WEBSTER.

THE law of July 1st, 1902, "temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands," is the first response to the stipulation of the Treaty of Paris made three and a half years ago, that Congress shall determine "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants" of the archipelago.

The first section declares that the Constitution of the United States shall not have the same force and effect in the Philippines that it has within the organized territories of the United States.

The same section approves, ratifies and confirms the "action" of the President on three occasions: first, when he created the Philippine Commission on April 7th, 1900, and authorized it to take part in the government of the archipelago; second, when he created the offices of Civil Governor and Vice-Governor, June 21st, 1901; and, third, when he established four executive departments in the islands on September 6th, 1901.

It sets forth that, until otherwise provided, the said islands shall continue to be governed as prescribed in those three actions and in the present law.

Then follows, at the close of the first section, a requirement that in future appointments by the President, of Governors, Vice-Governors, Members of the Commission, and Heads of Executive Departments, confirmation by the Senate shall be necessary.

Whoever has felt interest enough in the subject to observe critically the evolution out of military government, of such civil government as existed in the Philippines before the first of July last, has seen that, in the view entertained by the Administration in Washington, the President, in a case of military occupation,

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exercises all of the three differing powers described in the Constitution as legislative, judicial and executive, and that he may rule, as Commander-in-Chief, through civil as well as military officers. Consequently, a second Philippine Commission of five members was created; and on April 7th, 1900, authority was vested in it by the Commander-in-Chief to exercise, in the archipelago, that part of the President's authority which is legislative in character, including the establishment of judicial tribunals, but subject always to his approval, through the Secretary of War, of what may be done. In June of the next year, Judge Taft was authorized by the President to exercise, in certain pacified provinces, that part of his executive power as Commander-in-Chief which had been previously exercised by the General-in-Command at Manila, but subject always to the control of the War Department. To that end, Judge Taft was made Governor of the Island. In the following September, four separate executive departments were created, to which members of the Commission were assigned.

The Spooner amendment to the Army Bill of March 2nd, 1901, only declared that "all military, civil and judicial powers, necessary to govern the Philippine Islands . . shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons, and be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States shall direct." The army officers and members forming the Philippine Commission were by the President continued in power under the Spooner amendment, and the orders previously issued to them remained in force. The former government of military occupation survived, subject in every particular to the orders of the President, attested by the Secretary of War. The only modification of the former military régime was that a part of the agents of military power were civilians. That which had been referred to as legislative power was not exercised by legislators chosen by the natives to make laws, but by persons appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, who were to observe some of the usual forms of legislation.

A "Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department" is established by the law of July, which shall have charge of all matters pertaining to civil government of the island possessions of the United States, subject to the Secretary of War, and a Colonel of the army is to be chief of the colonial bureau.

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Such is the ingenious political contrivance, cleverly adapted to the situation in the Philippines, which has received Congressional sanction. When it shall become necessary to judicially ascertain the limits of the power conferred by Congress on the Philippine Commission, the previous orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army must be examined and interpreted.

The first section of the new law does not determine civil rights, or political status; but the third section does, when it declares that all of the natives who were Spanish subjects and inhabitants of the archipelago on April 11th, 1899, and were residing there on July 1st, 1902, shall, together with their children born in the islands after the first-named date, be "citizens of the Philippine Islands, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States," unless they shall under the treaty have preserved Spanish allegiance. Their "political status" is to be, not citizens of the United States, but "citizens of the Philippine Islands," entitled to the protection of the government in Washington.

Thus there are now citizens of the United States, citizens of a State, citizens of a Territory, citizens of Porto Rico, and citizens of the Philippines, each with different legal relations.

There need not be complications regarding a citizen of the Philippine Islands, entitled "as such" to Federal protection, when he is in foreign countries. Even if not permitted to expatriate himself, and assume a foreign allegiance, he will probably be permitted to go abroad, and will receive a kind of passport certifying permission to leave the archipelago, and requesting freedom to travel and proper protection "as such"; but the document will not certify American citizenship and nationality. If any existing statute forbids a passport to one not in that category, it will have been modified, *pro tanto,* by the recent enactment. Perhaps an inhabitant of the conquered but unpacified portions of the archipelago could, while under a government by military occupation, receive a passport, and be protected abroad "as such." But what are to be the rights of "citizens of the Philippine Islands," in regard to departure therefrom for the United States, and treatment on arrival? Will they be aliens? What will "equal protection of the laws" mean for them? Can they receive and convey a title to land in the States of the Union in which aliens are prohibited from owning real

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estate? There will inevitably arise a large crop of similar questions, which the courts and future laws must answer.

The recent enactment having excluded the Federal Constitution from control in the archipelago, the natives would have been defenceless against the new Philippine government, had the enactment stopped with the first and third sections already described, and in the fifth, ninth and tenth sections their civil rights had not received valuable definition and protection. Congress has therein given to the Philippine natives the statute protection afforded by the Constitution and its amendments, excepting trial by jury, the right to keep and bear arms, a militia force, and just compensation for private property taken for public use. Those civil rights thus given, Congress can, it is true, take away from the Philippines (it cannot take them away from New Mexico), but yet they have by statute been generously conceded.

The fact may as well now be recognized that the theory upon which the Spanish treaty was negotiated—which was that the new islands could be held indefinitely as colonies outside of the Constitution—has prevailed in the recent legislation, which rests on the assertion than an alien people cannot be incorporated into the Union by the treaty-making power; that the government of the United States has the right to acquire and hold territory without immediately incorporating it into the United States; that places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, but not incorporated into it, are not within the United States; that incorporation of territory acquired by a treaty of cession in which there are conditions against the incorporation until Congress has provided therefor, will not take place until, in the wisdom of Congress, the acquired territory has come into the American family; that the article of the treaty with Spain by which it is declared that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants "shall be determined by the Congress" shows a purpose not only to leave the status of the territory to be determined by Congress, but to prevent the treaty from operating to the contrary.

Hence the Constitution does not yet control in the new islands.

The recent July enactment not only acquiesces in that as sound, constitutional doctrine, but also adopts the opinion expressed by Justice Gray, that a temporary government which is not subject to all the restrictions of the Constitution, may be set up by Con-

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gress over conquered territory, if Congress is not ready to construct a complete government for such territory.

The dissenting opinions of four members of the court, led by the Chief Justice, have not been vindicated by Democratic leaders, in or out of Congress, and have been temporarily submerged.

The artifice of keeping an acquisition, made either by conquest or purchase, outside of the United States by refusing to incorporate, and by dealing with it much as England may deal with a crown colony, has been learned. Perhaps after the treaty of peace had been ratified there was possible no other and better solution of the Philippine problem. The territorial plan, used in 1850 and ever after, might have been perilous in face of insurrection in the islands. Even that plan did not rest on "consent of the governed," popular sovereignty and home rule. Only the people of a State can, under the Constitution, enjoy them. Therefore the natives of the Philippines must either have immediately been made into a State (which would have been preposterous), or left as an independent political community, if they were to regulate their social institutions, local concerns and internal polity in their own way. The citizens of New Mexico have, during half a century, been a subordinate political community subject to Congress under the Constitution. The inhabitants of a Territory, even when under the Constitution, do not govern themselves in their own way without interference by outsiders who are in Washington. Under the old plan which was in use till the last Treaty of Paris, the inhabitants of an organized Territory had immediately and unconditionally all the "civil rights" conferred by the Constitution; but under the new plan, such "civil rights" are either refused, or are doled out by Congress one at a time, and even then "with a string attached."

The ninth and tenth sections of the new law have given protection to the natives by the declaration that the Supreme Court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to review, revise, reverse, modify, or affirm the final judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, in all actions, cases, causes, and proceedings now pending therein, or hereafter determined thereby, in which (1) the Constitution, or any statute, treaty, title, right or privilege of the United States is involved, or (2) in causes in which the value in controversy exceeds twenty-five thousand dollars, or (3) in which the title, or possession, of

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real estate, exceeding in value the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, to be ascertained by the oath of either party or of other competent witnesses, is involved or brought in question.

It may be asked what part, under the first section, can the Constitution play before the court. A hopeful reply is to be found in an admission by some of the Justices in the insular cases that, possibly, there may be clauses of the Constitution applicable in the Philippines, even in the absence of Congressional legislation.

The fifth and seventh sections of the enactment on which I am commenting (not in the light of debates in Congress, which I have not read), in the light of the language the law-makers have employed, relate to a future probably very far off, when the existing insurrection in the Philippine Islands shall have ceased; when a condition of general and complete peace shall have been established therein, and the fact shall have been certified to the President by the Philippine Commission; when a census shall have been made and published, and when all is perfect peace outside the non-Christian tribes. Then an election can be held to select delegates to a Philippine Assembly, which is to be one of two legislative bodies of which the Philippine Commission is to be the other, both under the control of a Governor, who, like members of the Commission, is to be appointed by the President. Probably a Philippine Assembly, chosen by the natives, but unable to enact laws, is as much "home rule" as can now be safely promised. That portion of the law does not indicate a purpose on the part of the Congress enacting it, or the present Administration, either to alienate the archipelago, or turn it over within a definite future period, either long or short, to self-government by the natives.

The powers conferred by Congress on the new Philippine government will enable it to acquire by judicial proceedings, commonly known as "condemnation proceedings," any or all of the more than four hundred thousand acres of agricultural lands owned by the religious orders, or by their agents to whom the lands are said to have been colorably assigned. That legislation, when examined in connection with the elaborate report to the Secretary of War, dated November 30th, 1900, made by the Philippine Commission regarding the friars and their property, and when taken with the advice given by Secretary Root to the President upon the same subject on November 27th, 1901, seems

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to leave no doubt that the government at Washington had decided that, for the speedy and thorough pacification of the archipelago, it had become, as the Secretary of War said,

"manifestly for the interest of the religious orders that they should convert into money this property, which they can manifestly no longer peacefully enjoy or practically make useful. At the same time, the peace and order of the community, the good-will of the people toward the government of the United States, and the interest of an effected settlement and disposition of all questions arising between the church and state in the islands, make it equally desirable that these lands should be purchased by the state, and that title upon proper and reasonable terms should be offered the tenants, or to the other people of the islands."

It is asserted in the opinion of the Philippine Commission that the four or five hundred Spanish friars, now in Manila, should not be permitted to return to their parishes.

It is more than eighteen months since the Taft Philippine Commission made to the War Department an elaborate report respecting the small remnant of the four religious orders expelled from their parishes a few years ago, and now surviving in Manila, the property, real and personal, owned, held, or claimed by those orders, the assignment, more or less colorable, of the property,—all based on an official examination by Governor Taft of the Archbishop of Manila, several bishops, the provincials of the religious orders, American priests and laymen, army officers, newspaper correspondents and other persons professing to be experts. The result was long ago published by Congress. It is to be relied upon by the country, one would say, as presenting essential facts and sound conclusions, if any official report regarding the morality, or immorality, or political fidelity of the friars, the vast landed interests of the religious orders, and the assignment to duty, by their superiors, of priests of any church, or ministers of any religious denomination, is to be thus regarded under the circumstances. It is to be inferred that Congress accepted those views as correct when it enacted:

"SEC. 63. That the government of the Philippine Islands is hereby authorized, subject to the limitations and conditions prescribed in this Act, to acquire, receive, hold, maintain and convey title to real and personal property, and may acquire real estate *for public uses* by the exercise of the right of eminent domain.

"SEC. 64. That the powers herein before conferred in section sixty-

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three may also be exercised in respect of any lands, easements, appurtenances, and hereditaments which, on the thirteenth of August, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, were owned, or held, by associations, corporations, communities, religious orders or private individuals, in such large tracts, or parcels, and in such manner as, *in the opinion of the Commission,* injuriously to affect the peace and welfare of the people of the Philippine Islands."

The state will be mightier than the church. There will, however, not be, it is to be hoped, the executive visitations, confiscations, and spoliations of three centuries and a half ago in England, but judicial process, full payment of just compensation, and thorough inquiry into the character of the friars hitherto represented as so obnoxious.

The fifth section had ordained that no law shall be enacted in the archipelago depriving "any person of property without due process of law," but it had, for some reason, omitted the clause of the Constitution which forbids the taking of private property for public use without just compensation. That omission is, however, of less consequence in the present case, since the last part of the sixty-fourth section plainly requires payment for the expropriated lands.

Ever since the Supreme Court decided in 1884, in the Juillard case, that Congress had authority, in time of peace, to make a full legal tender out of greenback debt, because that authority is an attribute of sovereignty which had been exercised by England, many things have been attempted by Congress under a similar plea. New things have, first or last, been invented and applied in this new world of ours regarding sovereignty, which is the power to govern. One is that American sovereignty comes up from below, and does not come down from above. Another is that sovereignty can be partitioned among several governments in the same area. Another came to light in the last Treaty of Paris, namely, that sovereignty can be relinquished, abandoned and left floating for a time, as in the case of Cuba.

It was decided by the judgments in the insular cases that the Spanish treaty imparted to Congress an unfettered discretion to distribute in the archipelago those primary civil rights described in the Constitution, which, unlike political privileges, could not be withheld under former treaties of cession. Thus it was that the purchase of the Philippines broke away from the traditions

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of our country, and began a new departure, glorious, it may be, but nevertheless novel.

The last phase in sovereignty development and world-wide power is, that, while the government at Washington is not completely sovereign in all domestic affairs, such as governing the Territories, it is sovereign in every foreign affair, and, therefore, could purchase the Philippines on the stipulated condition that they should be, till Congress has determined otherwise, external to the Union, but yet that they can as a domestic affair be lawfully governed outside the Constitution, because they must be governed somehow.

Biographies, letters and diaries are quite certain, soon or late, to reveal the name of the clever lawyer in the McKinley government, or among the American negotiators of the treaty which ceded the Philippines, who invented the novelty in our national jurisprudence, now adopted by Congress, as well as by the Supreme Court, that the archipelago can be kept for an indefinite period so far outside of our Constitution, and external to the United States, that the sovereignty conferred by the people of the several States is unable to reach and protect the natives, but yet that the martial hand of the President can govern them, for the reason that his sovereign authority over them must be as great as that of any Emperor, or King, or Sultan, over his colonies, inasmuch as the United States is sovereign, and therefore its Congress must be sovereign as the British Parliament is sovereign.

The right of "eminent domain" is as well understood and practised in Spain as in the United States. It is as well known in the civil law by the name of expropriation for the cause of public utility, as in the common law by the name of condemnation for a public use. All our Constitutions, national and State, recognize it, and perhaps as the right previously existed by the common law, it was not created by those Constitutions. In the body of the Federal Constitution, there is no mention of "eminent domain," nor of compensation for private property taken for a public use, nor of a religious establishment, nor of the free exercise of religion. Only the amendments of that Constitution cover them, but the amendments restrain only Congress, and not the States. It is Congress that cannot tax, or expend money, for religious work and instruction, and yet the Supreme Court (175, United States Reports 291), has lately upheld an appropriation

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by Congress for hospital buildings in which paupers at public charge are to be under the sole control of Roman Catholic sisters. Not till the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries did the several States enact religious freedom, and rid themselves of church establishments, of a union of church and state, of religious qualification to exercise civil rights, of taxation for the support of a church.

Congress can, as it is now settled opinion, exercise the right of eminent domain in a State, without consent of the latter. Therefore it obviously can in an American colony. Congress can take private property anywhere within its jurisdiction, and so can a State. Two governments can exercise such sovereign power in the same locality, and that exhibits a partition of sovereignty.

The recent enactment should amply protect the religious orders in the Philippines, because there must, first of all, be "due process of law,"—which will present a judicial question that can go to the Supreme Court.

There cannot be impairment of contracts. There must be a public necessity for taking the lands. The religious orders will be free to argue in the courts that the question of "eminent domain," and "public use," is a judicial question, which Congress cannot decide off-hand, although the government will probably insist that Congress can, as it has attempted to do, confer on the Philippine Commission power to decide arbitrarily and finally whether or not "the peace and welfare of the people of the Philippines" require condemnation of the lands in controversy. Certainly the "use" must be public, but if the sole object in the Philippines is to deprive the religious orders of property or land, and substitute money therefor, is that a "public use"?

There must be a lawful taking of the lands, a just compensation awarded by a lawful tribunal after a judicial trial and ample notice thereof to the owner, and finally an actual payment in legal-tender money of the sum awarded.

If the religious orders are represented by competent, faithful and strenuous lawyers in the Philippines, they should be able, under the recent enactment, to carry every doubtful and important question to the Supreme Court at Washington.

SIDNEY WEBSTER.

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THE CAUSES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION IN ARID COUNTRIES.

BY E. W. HILGARD, PROFESSOR OF AGRICULTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

It has been noted as a curious fact that the majority of the ancient civilizations developed precisely where nature imposed the onerous condition of artificial irrigation upon the husbandman, who supplies the prime necessaries of life. Aside from Egypt, the permanent fertility of which is ascribed to the inundations of the Nile, we find to the westward the oases of the Libyan and Sahara deserts, whose high fertility has become proverbial, and caused them to be cultivated from ancient times to the present. Similarly, in southern Europe and northern Africa, we find that, instead of the humid forest country, it was in the arid but irrigable coast regions—such as the "vegas" of Valencia, Alicante, Granada, Malaga, the Græco-Syrian archipelago, and, on the opposite shores, the even more arid domain of which Carthage was the metropolis—that noted centres of civilization were developed and maintained. We observe the same phenomena in the other continents, and nowhere more strikingly than in Asia, credited with being the cradle of mankind. The arid belt requiring irrigation extends from Egypt and Arabia to Palestine, Syria and Persia, across the Indus and through the anciently recognized regions of Indian civilization—Sindh, the Punjab, Rajputana and Northwestern India—to the Ganges, embracing such well-known centres as Lahore, Delhi, Meerut, Agra, etc., and inhabited by much more hardy and progressive races than the highly productive and humid tropical portions of the Indian peninsula. Throughout this extensive and important region, irrigation is necessary in

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order to maintain regular production, and in default of it, periodic famines ravage the country. Thousands of years ago, millions of treasure were spent upon irrigation works, as has been again done in modern times; yet, in the rainy, forested districts we find even yet large areas tenanted mainly by wild beasts. In Central Asia, as well as in Asia Minor, the ruins of ancient cities are seen where at the present time only the herds of nomads pasture. The khanates of southern Turkestan, with their historic cities, illustrate the same obstinate bias in favor of the arid climates. Nor is it otherwise in the New World. It was not the moist, exuberantly fertile forest regions of the Orinoco and Amazon, but the arid western slopes of the Andes, that developed the civilization of the Incas. In Mexico, similarly, it was the high central plateau, not the bountifully productive *tierra caliente,* over which the Aztecs chose to extend their dominion. Even to the northward, the inhabitants of the high, dry plains of Arizona and New Mexico were (as their descendants inhabiting the *pueblos* still are) superior in cultural development to their forest-dwelling neighbors of the Algonquin races; from time immemorial they have practised cultivation with irrigation, maintaining a comparatively dense population on very limited irrigated areas.

It was evidently not merely the stimulus of the struggle for existence that conditioned this remarkable phenomenon. It might be thought that the desire to avoid the labor of clearing forest ground was the motive which impelled ancient culture toward the choice of treeless regions. But if we consider the labor and cost of establishing and maintaining irrigation ditches, it certainly seems that a stronger motive, based on the intrinsic nature of the case, must have influenced the choice.

It appears to the writer that such a stronger motive may be found in the higher and more permanent fertility of the arid lands, whenever water is adequately supplied.

That arid soils should be more fertile intrinsically can be forecast *a priori,* when the processes of soil-formation in the arid* and humid regions are comparatively considered. That this has not been done until within recent years is one of the curious lapses

* By an "arid" climate is meant not merely one deficient in total rainfall, but especially one having practically rainless summers. Two belts of this character exist, intervening between the tropics and the temperate humid regions of summer rains, both north and south of the equator.

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which we occasionally find in the progress of science. This is not the place for a detailed consideration of these processes; but the essential differences between the humid and arid regions may be briefly characterized in a manner intelligible to the layman in soil chemistry, since the general conditions of agricultural productiveness have now become a matter of popular knowledge.

Soils are formed primarily by the physical and chemical disintegration (weathering) of rocks, and these processes continue in the soil mass. They result in the formation of a certain proportion of water-soluble compounds, chiefly of sodium and potassium, also of calcium and magnesium. Wherever abundant rains occur more or less regularly throughout the year, these water-soluble compounds are leached out of the land, passing into the sub-drainage, and thence through springs, streams and rivers into the sea. But where the rainfall is scanty, this leaching can take place only partially or not at all; and we frequently find, during the rainless season, the salts of potassium, sodium and magnesium appearing as a superficial "bloom" or efflorescence on the land surface, being brought up by the evaporation of the soil moisture—sometimes in such amounts as to prevent the growth of ordinary vegetation, and permitting only that of "saline" plants. For, with the useful, nutrient substances, of course also the useless or injurious ones, such as common and Glauber's salt, and sal-soda, are left in the land. These "alkali" lands form the extreme contrast to the intensely leached, usually "red," lands of the tropics, known as laterite soils; which are extremely poor in plant-food ingredients.

But, while an excess of these salts is injurious to useful vegetation, it is obvious that, where such excess does not occur, there must be formed in the soils of the arid regions accumulations of plant food which may render it possible to defer for a long time the need of artificial fertilization, to which the farmer of the humid regions must devote so much money and energy.

So much might have been inferred *a priori*. But that this state of things actually exists, the writer has demonstrated by the comparative investigation of a large number of soils from the arid and humid regions of the United States. These investigations, with some of the conclusions flowing therefrom, were first published in Bulletin No. 2 of the United States Weather Bureau,

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in 1892, and more extendedly in subsequent publications.* From these the following points, which have been abundantly verified since, may be briefly summarized.

Recalling to mind that the soil ingredients drawn upon by crops that require replacement by fertilization are potash, phosphoric acid, nitrogen and lime (or the elements potassium, phosphorus, nitrogen and calcium), it appears that:

1. All arid soils are calcareous (with a few local exceptions arising from the absence of calcium from the parent rock); that is, they contain a sufficient supply of lime (carbonate) to realize all the advantages known to belong to such soils, and which in the humid region it is sought to bring about by the costly process of liming or marling. On the average, the lime-percentage of the arid soils of the United States exceeds that of the lands of the humid region (where not specially supplied by underlying limestone formations) from twelvefold to fourteenfold.

2. All soils of the arid regions contain large amounts of potash in forms readily available to plants; aside from the actually water-soluble salts of potash always present in the "alkali" salts, sometimes to the extent of over twenty per cent. of the latter. Thus the need of fertilization with potash is, under ordinary cropping, almost indefinitely postponed.

3. Nitrates, the formation and leaching-out of which are a source of continuous and heavy losses of soil-fertility in the regions of summer rains, accumulate in the soils of the arid regions, so as sometimes to form over forty per cent. of the soluble salts in the soil, and as much as 1,200 pounds per acre. Even ammonia salts are sometimes present in notable amounts. Humus, the repository of the nitrogen supply of soils, is usually present only in small amounts in arid soils, but is on the average three times as rich in nitrogen as that existing in humid soils.

4. Phosphoric acid, the fourth of the plant-food ingredients usually supplied in fertilizers, is not more abundant in arid than in humid soils, not being subject to leaching-out. But in alkali lands we frequently find water-soluble phosphates, ready for root-absorption, circulating in the soil in notable quantities.

* See Wollny's "*Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Agriculturphysik*," 1893; "*Annales de la Science Agronomique*," 1893; "Reports and Bulletins of the California Experiment Station," 1894 to 1902; "*Verhandlungen des Internationalen Geographen-Congresses, in Berlin*," 1901, and elsewhere.

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Thus frequently the watery extract of arid soils is of just such composition as the nutritive solutions compounded for the purpose of growing plants experimentally; and it is hardly necessary to say that such lands repay cultivation with extraordinary crops, so soon as the several sodium salts, mentioned above, are removed, or rendered innocuous by other means. It is no wonder that, as the Russian traveller von Middlendorf relates, the natives of Ferghana carry the alkali crusts from the lower grounds to the higher by donkey-loads, saying that "the salt is the life of the land." It is only the excess that is damaging; and the extraordinary productiveness of reclaimed alkali lands justifies considerable expenditure toward such reclamation. There are but few such lands that will not ultimately amply repay the cost.

Among the readiest means for that purpose is the neutralization of the carbonate of soda ("black alkali"), when present, by means of gypsum, which converts it into the relatively innocuous sulphate, or Glauber's salt; while, at the same time, it retains the previously dissolved humus and phosphates. Common salt, unfortunately, can be disposed of only by drainage, which, however, removes a corresponding portion of water-soluble plant-food, potash salts, nitrates and phosphates.

There can be no doubt, then, that arid regions offer to the husbandman not only unusual but also lasting productiveness as the result of the application of irrigation water, in consequence of the accumulation of plant-food in the soil. But the advantage does not end there; for it is one of the peculiarities of rock-weathering under arid conditions that there is very little true (plastic) clay formed; and hence the soils are throughout of a sandy, or rather powdery, nature, which manifests itself unpleasantly in the well-known dust storms of the deserts. As a consequence of this, and of the deficient rainfall, there is practically little or no difference between the arable soil on the surface and the underlying subsoil, sometimes to the depth of ten or more feet. Hence, air as well as water can penetrate to these depths unhindered by dense, impervious subsoils; and with them the roots of crops penetrate habitually to similar and greater depths, and can there exercise their nutritive functions. This means that, instead of two or three feet, from three to five times that amount of soil mass is ready to be drawn upon by plants; so that the purchaser of a given surface-area of land really obtains, in the

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arid regions, several times as much productive land as he would have received in the humid. And while in the regions of summer rains the sandiness of the soil is closely correlated to infertility, because there sand consists essentially of quartz grains only, in the arid regions "sand" is the entire substance of the parent rock, more or less decomposed, and constitutes soils as "strong" as the best clay lands of the humid countries, so soon as it is irrigated.

All this explains rationally the high production of irrigated land in the arid region, and the fact that a much smaller unit of land-holding can and does prevail there, the land thus supporting a much denser population. Already, in Californian irrigated colonies, from ten to twenty acres is the unit offered to a family, instead of the 40 to 160 considered needful in the humid portion of the United States. The comparatively high prices of irrigated lands are the natural result of these intrinsic advantages, of which, however, not every newcomer knows how to avail himself.

It is hardly doubtful that the ancient "*Kulturvölker*" recognized these advantages by experience, and eschewed the laborious task of rendering cultivable the comparatively infertile, or, at least, readily exhausted, lands of the forest regions; where, moreover, an unseen enemy might lurk behind every tree. And it is also clear that, inasmuch as the establishment and maintenance of irrigation canals necessarily involve co-operation, and therefore a rather high degree of social organization, the conditions of the arid regions were exceptionally conducive to the establishment of the highly complex polities of which the vestiges are now being unearthed in what we are in the habit of calling "deserts." It is also quite natural that these wealthy and prosperous communities should have excited the cupidity of the "barbarous," forest-inhabiting, warlike races, and should, as history records, have been over and again overwhelmed by them—a similar fate often afterwards overtaking the conquerors after the Capuan ease of existence had weakened their warlike prowess. At the present time, the arid regions of the Old World are still largely suffering from having been overrun by the nomadic Turanians, whose original habitat—Mongolia and Turkestan—while also arid, does not permit of the ready and full realization of the advantages above outlined, on account of the rigorous climatic conditions. The advent of Mohammedanism, while on the one hand con-

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ducive to a vast improvement in civil and social polity, as compared with the idolatry and fetichism which it is even now successfully superseding in Africa, first expelled, and has since repelled, Western civilization from the arid regions of the Old World, and remains there to-day as an obstacle to its progress. But Islam now seems likely to lose its power of repulsion through the peaceful aggression of railroads in its old strongholds; as in Egypt, it seems likely to be shorn of its claws in Turkestan, Asia Minor, Persia, and eventually in Arabia; and the bitter fanaticism even of the Tuareg tribes is giving way before the French highway from the Mediterranean to the Niger. When Timbuctoo becomes a transcontinental railway station, and Constantinople and Bagdad are linked together by steel bands, the Desert will soon lose its terrors, and the Bedouins and Koords will, as did the formidable Tekke of Turkestan under the influence of the Transcaucasian railway, adopt the arts of peace and make Mesopotamia and Babylonia garden lands, as of old, under the abundant waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. Doubtless, there is not water enough available for irrigation in the arid zones of the world to irrigate fully more than a fraction of the whole. But the high and lasting productiveness of that fraction, together with the more rational use of the unirrigable lands, will defer for a long time the fulfilment of the unpleasant forecasts made by Malthus, and latterly by Crookes. The intense production of foodstuffs now resulting from the copious use of fertilizers in the humid regions, can for long periods be maintained with the use of water alone, in regions where, though now classed as deserts, "the salt is the life of the land." Their soils and climate have not changed; but political misrule, following their invasion by warlike nomads, has paralyzed agricultural and social progress. The tide of civilization which has risen so high in the forest countries of Western Europe, will not recede, but will overflow into the arid countries, and revive, only on a higher plane, the pristine flow of milk and honey that, much critical speculation notwithstanding, made Palestine the Promised Land.

E. W. HILGARD.

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AMERICANS IN EUROPE, AS SEEN FROM A CONSULATE.

BY H. G. DWIGHT.

PURELY as an interested and deeply prejudiced party, I often marvel at the strange Providence whereby our Consular Service is of the slightest efficiency. It is a rare tribute to American qualities if the commercial interests of the country derive benefit from the observations of so harried an individual as the average consul. That he is at his appointment ignorant of the country of his destination and its language, may be taken as an axiom. Paid at the same rate as unskilled mechanics at home, he has constantly to blush before his more respectable foreign colleagues. With every desire to make the Service his career, he is hourly in danger of being supplanted without so much as a notification from headquarters. Nominally under the orders of the Department of State, he is absolutely subject to the personal humors of politicians. He who can enlist the strongest "interest" has the longest career. The effect of such conditions upon the ordinary character would be to lighten its sense of responsibility, to say the least.

I suppose it is that, being a venturesome people, a certain percentage of the population elects the Consular Service as a new generator of emotion, for whatever may be in it. Which is exceedingly little! This fact, indeed, is to me one convincing proof that all Americans are not money-mad; for while, by our cheerful system of unofficial fees, a few consuls can make ten or fifteen thousand dollars a year, the great majority of them have to struggle along in the most helpless and squalid poverty. The indifference of Congress on the subject is perfectly comprehensible, aside from the prevalent ignorance with regard to our own and foreign services. Under our system of political patronage, the pressure for places would be intolerable if salaries were more

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tempting. The thing difficult of comprehension is that the business men who are served by the Consular Service should permit so unbusinesslike an organization.

If these considerations were not enough to disturb the consul's peace of mind and unsettle his conscience, the fact that he is an American subjects him to more personal inconvenience than would be imagined. For Americans, more than any other people, partly because of their distance from home and partly through their political institutions, are wont to frequent the offices maintained by their Government in different parts of the world. I do not refer, of course, to those whose business takes them before a consul. Some make it a practice to visit all diplomatic and consular officers upon their route. Others call on those gentlemen only in case of emergency—to the caller more or less urgent, to the official in question generally less than more. What proportion may exist between the total number of travellers and those who habitually or casually frequent diplomatic and consular offices, I do not profess to know. But during four years' experience in the consulate at Venice—where the annual American invasion is as appalling to the lovers of that beautiful town as it is welcome to the merchants thereof—my acquaintance with my fellow-countrymen has been of the most extended and most varied character.

Let not the reader imagine that these observations issue from one who has the honor to sit in the seat of Donald Mitchell and William Dean Howells. If I were the consul I would hardly venture to write this story. I am but a Messenger, and I "touch"—as the French say so charmingly—I "touch" three hundred dollars a year, for which I send in duplicate vouchers every quarter to the Department of State. What the Department of State expects of a Messenger is not explicitly specified in the Regulations of 1896. He is a kind of catch-all for appropriations, a generic name for varying degrees of employment which would alarm the Ways and Means Committee if individually detailed, but which, classed collectively, make good the deficiencies of short-handed consulates. The word would imply a state of activity rather more exhausting than anything I am acquainted with. In general, my point of view is that of a chastened gondolier I knew, who promised that if his pay were doubled he would do twice as much work. I consider that by reason of the laughable

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meagreness of my emoluments and the depth of my subordinacy, it is permitted me to make what capital I can out of circumstances, just as consuls of the lowest class are allowed to engage in private business. This for me consists largely in contemplating the bridge under my window, and the narrow water street which, just beyond our sight, reflects the high-swung arch of the Bridge of Sighs.

Our colleagues keep their consulates on the Grand Canal. But these are the consuls of "Effete European Powers," whose pay suffices them to live on. We, who are charged with the commercial interests of the greatest export nation of the world, cannot afford Grand Canal rents. There are, however, compensations in living in the shadow of St. Mark's, even though it be the rear shadow; and the view from the window atones for the window itself. That architectural feature might have been perpetrated in the most utilitarian of countries, so offensively rectangular is it among its more gracious Gothic and Renaissance neighbors. The small office which it illumines is a corner of the most insignificant building on our canal (that goes without saying): a three-story house, washed of a variegated yellow, whose sole exterior decoration is the Byzantine eagle painted many years ago by a well-meaning Venetian for the ensign of the United States. Between the sumptuous palaces of our unusually decorative canal, we make a painful impression. Portly gentlemen occasionally bustle in to say they wish we were better housed; but when they go home they vote down the Consular Bill, and here we are. Still, it is better to live in this house and see the others, than to live in one of the others and see this. And certain I am that from none of these stately *palazzi* is there a more engrossing view upon a bridge with a massive sixteenth-century balustrade, whose mellow marble is smooth from the touch of unnumbered hands. All nations pass here, to and from the Piazza; and, besides the people of the place, none are so frequent as the people of my own country.

I like my fellow-countrymen very much—to look at. There is something trim and sufficient about them that appeals to my prejudiced taste. One can always tell them by their clothes, if not by their faces. Many of them, however, think it necessary to distinguish their nationality by a lavish display of flags, commonly about the person. They will pin the colors in miniature to their button-holes, or wear them life-size at the corsage. I remember

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one young woman who completely draped the upper part of her figure in a silk standard. I have a barbaric taste for red and white stripes myself, but the conspicuousness incident to ornamenting one's person in such a manner must at times be embarrassing. I must confess, too, that this waving of the American flag to every breeze affects me with something very much akin to distaste. The action has that air of insisting upon one's nationality which travel ought to dissipate. Nationality is, like the family, an excellent institution—at home. It is an institution indispensable to the development of man; but nothing really essential or human is confined within frontiers. Nationality is no more important when one is travelling in the world than family pedigree at an afternoon tea. Patriotism is a word easy to cite, the word always cited by those who wear their colors abroad; but there is danger of making it a misnomer for provincialism.

The circumstances that we live in a centre of attraction, and that the American has, above all other men, an inborn impulse to interview his consul, combine to bring it about that a considerable proportion of those who pass the window of our consulate do also come within our gates. Lord Salisbury once issued to the British public a circular to the effect that consulates were established for business, not social, purposes: that consuls received no allowance for entertaining; and that it was accordingly desirable for travellers to exclude consular offices from their itineraries, unless impelled by necessity to frequent the same. Such is the prestige of Lord Salisbury that his counsel has been largely observed. I have heard members of the cognate service of which I have the honor to be so humble a member express the wish that our State Department enjoyed equal influence with the travelling American. As a matter of fact, consulate visiting is rather encouraged than otherwise, and in a manner which often brings home to the consular officer, with humiliating vividness, his abject dependence upon the spoils system. Any member of Congress may issue or apply to the Secretary of State for a letter of recommendation to the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, which entitles the bearer to special consideration. The vast number of these documents granted makes it impossible to take them very seriously. But they fill their holder with a sense of importance; and they are an added impulse to the indulgence of a national weakness.

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For my part, however, I would be sorry to lose so many edifying acquaintances. When I was new in Venice, I considered it one of the misfortunes incident to my subordinate lot that I had to receive all comers. But with time I have grown to appreciate my opportunity.

Of the thousands who favor us with their presence, perhaps two per cent. come on legitimate business—to indicate the proper scope of which I might say that consulates are established for the protection of seamen, for the advancement of commerce, and, incidentally, for the execution of notarial acts. The other ninety-eight per cent. of our visitors either come on various kinds of illegitimate business or on no business at all. They desire to pay their respects to the Representative of their Country; that is the way they express themselves to the inquiring Messenger.

The Messenger suffered deeply in his youth from being dragged by peripatetic guardians to diplomatic and consular offices for the purpose of paying respects. He never could discover that anything was paid, nor that the honored official wore the air of gratitude germane to receipt. Having changed his rôle from attendant of the payer to attendant of the paid, he is often tempted to interpellate the caller as to his psychological state in a manner which might prove more inquisitive than courteous. Yet, after all, the thing is simple enough. Your American is a naïve person very far from home. He has that air of friendly patronage toward those in authority, mingled with deep respect, which is characteristic of our democratic country. It is as if he would say: "To-day I take off my hat to you, but to-morrow you may take off your hat to me." Where a service is closed to outsiders, its members acquire a prestige of organization and unfamiliarity. A European consul is one of the pillars of society, not lightly to be approached; but when a turn of the political whirligig produces a confusion in services recalling our youthful game of stage-coach, the citizen learns not to take his public servant too seriously. This is in some respects well; but it impedes the composition of consular reports.

They appear before me, those who desire to pay their respects to the Representative of their Country, and their air is more often jocular than not. Being, by the organization of their politics, somewhat accustomed to the sight of improbable persons elevated to responsible positions, they usually offer me their hand before

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they discover that I am not he whom they seek. I like to let them extend the hand before I enlighten them, in order to see what they will do. It runs about half and half. Six will, for decency's sake, go on with the salute, though in a half-hearted manner, which I do not begrudge them. Half a dozen will retire the proffered member with some precipitation, inquiring if the object of their search may be interviewed.

Such is the prestige of office in this world! Were I the superior officer of the consulate, or did I say that I was, my visitors would not marvel at the strange circumstance of the President's having reposed such especial confidence in my character and ability as to appoint me, by the advice and with the consent of the Senate, consul of the United States at Venice, Italy. Nay, I venture to presume that they would find pleasure in my discourse, and would go away satisfied with their contact with greatness. But being informed as to my subordinacy, they cease to take interest in me. It is proper that this should be so. Office is a symbol; and, whether they know it or not, people adore symbols. People do no wrong when they run after a king that they may see him. A king is worth seeing. He incarnates an idea—a very essential idea, too—and it is seldom enough that our ideas put on ermine and walk palpably before us. The artist is commonly the only man for whom that happens. There is an illogical notion rampant in America—rather ill-treated by our citizens abroad—that, having got rid of the name of king, we have gotten rid of an odious reality. It is nothing of the kind. A President is exactly the same thing, without the inconvenient necessity of keeping him after we are tired of him. Our ancestors, with somewhat thoughtless haste, made away with the pomp and circumstance of government. They did ill to perform it so drastically. Government is a very important matter; and, being so, it should be treated with regard for its symbolic value. Our ancestors lacked imagination, I am afraid, or forgot that the ardor of their own idealism might cool. Which is why their grandsons turn imperialist, and their granddaughters marry coronets.

In a minor way we maintain a general postal, forwarding and tourist agency. We had to obliterate our personal addresses at the telegraph office; for, what with the notorious propensity of telegrams for arriving at indecent hours, and the number of cables directed to our care, the nights of summer were made

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wretched to us by importunate messenger boys. At the opening of my first "season," the volume of the morning post used to make my heart sink. But peace returned to my bosom, upon finding that nine-tenths of the letters were for travellers, "care of United States Consul." This custom is natural enough, if a trifle foreign to the intentions of a consulate, and I do not resent it. But when it comes to being summoned at midnight from one's bed to deliver letters that are lying uptown at the office, one experiences something closely resembling resentment. This once happened to me. A New Yorker, arriving on his yacht late one evening, sent immediately for his mail. His messenger showed such courtesy and such embarrassment in the unusual commission and was, withal, such a jolly good man of the sea, that I could do no less than like him, and send for the letters. But not a line of explanation or apology did the sailor bear from his master, and not a syllable of acknowledgment was elicited from that person by the fulfilment of his extraordinary request. The most intolerable feature of the incident was —I learned too late—that the millionaire gave leave to offer "as much as fifty dollars" as an inducement for consular dignity to unbend to the proper point.

Would that all objects sent in our care were as portable as letters and telegrams. But no; we are also the honored recipients of express parcels, trunks, and packing cases, some of which we are asked to store, and others of which we are requested to forward to various indicated quarters of the globe. As I survey the accumulation of material awaiting the pleasure of my travelling compatriots, I am struck with the unanimity of sentiment that reigns in the human breast—at least in the American breast. My movements are impeded, my light is darkened, by the possessions of people I have not seen; whom, perhaps, it shall not be mine to know. But the continuing inconvenience affords me fresh proof of the Uniformity of Nature, although perhaps I am not so evangelically inclined as to long for new arguments in support of the theorem.

It is in our tourist branch that we are chiefly employed in helping our fellow-men, considerable as is our postal and forwarding business. As we are not actually engaged in the sale of tickets and time books, it is in search of counsel or redress that we are resorted to by the travelling public. I often marvel at the

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tales of travel that are narrated to me, particularly when, as is frequently the case, my visitors affirm themselves to be abroad for recuperation. He of the seven league boots was nothing to them. They mention the number of towns they have "done" in as many days, and their reminiscences appear to be solely of accommodation. One wonders what idea they have in travelling. Their interest seems to be principally in motion; and when they find themselves out of a railway car, they are at a loss for employment. It is then that they come to us for advice. St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace once hurried through, the satiated traveller comes to ask if there is anything else he should "do" before going on! Certainly not; he should depart with all speed, and God be with him! What else can you say to a man whose sole interest in this enchanted town is that he finds in a café a trick of cooling beer that he has never seen? With regard to the Doge's Palace, the observation of many is that it lacks steam heat and has no elevator.

This is called "seeing Europe," and men who know nothing of Italy but half a dozen hotels, nothing of Italians but a few score *facchini* and waiters, will put me the country in a nut-shell, as if they had studied nothing else all their lives. When I think of those poor "done" towns, whose ancient splendors remain but a blurred recollection of arcades and *campanili,* individualized solely by an uncomfortable bedroom or a dragging lift, I am inclined to tell my interlocutors that they do not get the discomfort they deserve. But the fact of the matter is that we are a nation of Sybarites. The world will not satisfy us till we have illuminated its darkest jungles with electric light, and heated the poles according to the latest improved system. This is not what we set out to do: we set out to make our own wilderness habitable; but the struggle for existence so sharpened the natural Anglo-Saxon talent for improving a desert, that we have entirely spoiled ourselves with our little tricks of comfort. These practical expedients fill up so large a part of our lives, that, when we find ourselves ahead of the world in such respects, we are prone to talk about "God's Country" and "effete monarchies." The Most High must be more appreciative of the advantages of domestic economy than is usually believed, if the United States be His country. Americans are too apt to fancy that if they car travel a hundred miles faster than any one else, they have outstripped mankind.

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While advice is easy for us to give, redress is not so much so. When your pocket is picked, or your trunk rifled at the frontier, it is only natural, in your ignorance of tongues, to carry your woes to your consul. But when unfortunate victims harangue so eloquently on the violent degeneration of Italy, I am tempted to recall to their minds the fact that the police records of their own country are not altogether of a virgin blankness. It is perfectly true that much petty pilfering goes on here, and the point of view of the burnt child is one that I heartily appreciate. But the more one sees of foreign countries, the more strongly does one become convinced that human nature, in its good phases and in its bad, is pretty much the same the world over. It is merely that methods differ. The Italian prefers to levy a small tax on all, whereas our own sharpers incline to the more exciting, if more dangerous, practice of winning everything at one *coup*. While the American is bolder, the Italian is really more just.

In a country where classes merge so constantly as they do in America, it is perhaps difficult to localize the traditions of the money-grabber. With us, your money-grabber after a certain stage is your fine gentleman; and, this Rubicon crossed, his operations are dignified with the style of Finance. In Europe, caste is less elastic; and your money-grabber remains your money-grabber to the end of the tale. Now, the making of money is a very simple matter. All you have to do is to take a certain sum per head from a certain number of people, and there you are. Of course the larger the sum, and the greater the number of heads, the better it is for you; that is a point for individual ambition. The thing is to hit upon a scheme essential enough or novel enough to induce the required number of people to part with the required sum. Take, for example, the keeping of hotels, the Italian industry most fruitful of complaint. The chief end in life of a hotel-keeper is to extract as large a percentage as possible of the worldly possessions of those who sleep within his gates. The calling is not altruistic: all acknowledge that. In America your hotel-keeper is very successful. He obtains so large a percentage of the incomes of others, that he stands a good chance of dying a Senator—if he have a clever wife. But his Italian confrère, even if equally successful, can entertain small hope of rising out of his class. Whence it is not surprising if he takes advantage of his class traditions.

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In such small ways does one learn to appreciate the true beauty of democracy. It is difficult, however, to point out these dispassionate considerations to a despoiled lady under the obsession that the Italian nation, individually and collectively, is bent upon her undoing.

The propensity of Americans to travel in companies is very noticeable from my window. It is commonly a trait that they conceive themselves to be the sole persons in Europe cognizant of the English language, so that in the season when their hordes darken my bridge my native tongue would seem to be the only dialect spoken in Venice, so do its accents prevail over the less strident voices of the inhabitants. I never knew that such people existed until I came here. They used to make me pessimistic as to the future of our country. If such were fair specimens of the population, what was to become of us? But afterward the very fact that I had not known them at home reassured me. I remembered that I had seen other kinds of people in America, and I argued that among seventy-five million there must be ten righteous men to save us from destruction. Also, the beflagged and vociferous individual would naturally overshadow his less conspicuous brother. Also, there is something in a foreign air which tempts to throw off wonted restraints. Then, our scale of wages is so absurdly disproportionate to corresponding scales in Europe, that we see abroad a class of people who in other countries would stay at home. But it is a good thing. After a century of our mania for travel, much of the provincialism of an isolated country must wear off.

My personal experience with parties has been bitter, so that when I hear them afar, I pray God they be not minded to identify the Byzantine eagle that adorns the consulate with the bird of their country. The conductor of a party reported me to Washington once. He left his flock outside to take pictures of the Bridge of Sighs, and he asked what we could do for him. My unaffected amazement at this question wrought upon him so unfavorably that he complained to the powers that be. Of this fact he apprised me, with many capitals, by post: saying that his party included 100 of the Richest and most Influential Citizens of the United States (also many Young Ladies) whom it would be an Honor and a Pleasure for Anyone to entertain—who had, in fact, been Handsomely Received at every Embassy they had

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hitherto Visited. He closed with the signal compliment that, of all indifferent clerks he ever met, I easily took precedence, and that he would not trouble me on his next visit. I could not remain untouched by this unsolicited tribute; I even went so far as to send a copy of it to Washington; but to this day I ask myself, in dull wonder, what he expected us to do for one hundred people. What? And this man carried a special letter of recommendation from the Secretary of State!

Another herd fell by the wayside in Venice, their conductor having failed, and they possessing nothing but their pin money. Of what use, forsooth, is a consulate, if not to give aid and comfort to its distressed compatriots? My distressed compatriots came, two hundred and fifty strong. One hundred and twenty-five of them wept upon my chief's bosom, and one hundred and twenty-five, for lack of more stable support, wept upon mine. We wept with them. It was all we could do. A paternal government makes no provision for any of its stranded children, save lawful mariners of the Merchant Marine. It would have been pleasant to take the course accredited to us by the local press. The city got wind of the affair, and people read, over their morning coffee, that the American consul had chartered a steamer to "rimpatriate" a party of his fellow-countrymen who found themselves deprived of funds. But, alas, the salaries granted by a paternal government hardly permit the chartering of steamers. Tears and sympathy were all we could give. On such cold comfort did the two hundred and fifty subsist until their conductor pulled himself together sufficiently to take them to the nearest Atlantic port.

Of all people in distress, I prefer the Destitute American Seaman. He is a gentleman in whose intercourse I have taken an infinite pleasure. His social gifts and his fertility of resource would recommend him, I sincerely believe, to even so practised a connoisseur as Mr. Rudyard Kipling. I have referred to the care of a paternal government for its stranded mariners. These are, in the legal sense of the term, such as have last served on an American vessel, and are, through no fault of their own, left without means upon a foreign shore. A distressed American seaman that falls under the provisions of the law I have yet to meet. The American flag never flies in the Mediterranean, unless from some stray yacht or man-of-war, whose mariners are usually so pampered that they dwell in a state of intermittent inebriation.

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Nevertheless, while legislation nicely defines you the Destitute American Seaman, and carefully excludes him from Venetian possibilities, he serenely turns up about once a month, as American, as marine and as destitute as if no Congress sat in Washington to discourage his existence. And, of course, it is invariably through no fault of his own that he is obliged to request aid and comfort of his government! When I was new in Venice, his appearance before my window filled me with panic. I am but a chicken-hearted servant of my country, and the spectacle of a brother citizen in unrelievable distress weighed upon my spirit. This was before I learned. I used to go through the formula of asking for papers and an account of the cause and course of the destitution now culminating before my eyes. I knew with sickening certainty what the answer would be: that the papers had been stolen, and that the victim's ship had cruelly left him in port, slipping clandestinely away while he was taking a little needed refreshment on shore! Then would I patiently explain the terms of the law; and perhaps the victim, if green at the trade, would leave me in peace, content with the meagre spoils won from my compassionate hand. Oftener, however, he would return to paint his Distress in blacker terms than before, and I hardly dared go to the consulate of a morning. But custom, as is her wont, hath hardened my heart. The induration commenced when I recognized in the leading man of a Soudanese theatre, doing a brisk Carnival business on the Riva degli Schiavoni, a Virginia darky who had wrung my heart with his tale of woe. He sang "There'll be a hot time in the old town to-night," with variations, and the Venetian populace warmly applauded this pleasing specimen of the vocal art of Central Africa. The leading man, to the visible envy of the spectators, honored me with marked attention, addressing me in his native dialect, when there was an intermission in the performance. I was loftily prepared to play the rôle of Injured Virtue; but the Soudanese chieftain turned my tactics to naught by his entertaining account of how he was earning an honest penny until he could find a ship. I noticed, however, that he did not return to the consulate.

I once had a delightful variation in the story. A mountain boy of the South had gone down to the coast for work, and there a seaman's boarding-house master had turned a dishonest penny by getting him a one-way job on a steamer running to the Adriatic.

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The lad had never seen the sea before, and was deathly sick all the way over, so that his captain dropped him with joy at the end of the trip. Sent here on one stage of his return, he gave me a new sensation. Imagine a Southern mountaineer dropped suddenly into Venice! It was too good to be true. The boy wanted to know how long the streets had been flooded, and he said his town looked just like that once in a freshet. St. Mark's did not strike him as being ecclesiastical in appearance, especially because the steeple was out in the road. Inquiring as to the denomination of the strange church, he was shocked. The Catholics were nothing his way, he said, they were all Baptis'. Where was the Baptis' Church in Venice? I shall long treasure the memory of that boy. As time passes, I find that I put into his mouth many speeches that he never uttered; but it makes no difference to ultimate verity. He is become to me a work of art—the typical expression of ingenuousness and world-innocence, suddenly confronted by all this ancient city has of world-sophistication and of splendor.

There is nothing like distance to give new perspectives. Since leaving my native land, to regard it from afar through my little consulate window, I have been struck by various unsuspected aspects of it. One or two of them I have suggested in these pages. It might seem that I have mentioned only the unusual or the grotesque, to the exclusion of what were more flattering to consider. But it is as in the leaded panes of a Venetian palace, the light of day comes greenly through the ancient glass, and only the more salient features of the outside world show misty or distorted outlines. It is the unusual which catches the eye and tinges the memory. The majority of Americans who pass through Venice probably do not dream of coming near us: for my own part, when in strange cities I would as soon think of calling upon the consul as upon the hangman. Others, who have legitimate business, perform it and go away, leaving no record but an entry in the fee-book. But certainly a great number, out of the friendliness of their heart or the temper of their understanding, do come in unto us upon one errand or another, and from these many a new impression is to be gathered.

H. G. DWIGHT.

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CASANOVA AT DUX: AN UNPUBLISHED CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

BY ARTHUR SYMONS.

I.

THE "Memoirs" of Casanova, though they have enjoyed the popularity of a bad reputation, have never had justice done to them by serious students of literature, of life and of history. One English writer, indeed, Mr. Havelock Ellis, has realized that "there are few more delightful books in the world," and he has analyzed them in an essay on Casanova, published in "Affirmations," with extreme care and remarkable subtlety. But this essay stands alone, at all events in English, as an attempt to take Casanova seriously, to show him in his relation to his time, and in his relation to human problems. And yet these "Memoirs" are perhaps the most valuable document which we possess on the society of the eighteenth century; they are the history of a unique life, a unique personality, one of the greatest of autobiographies; as a record of adventures, they are more entertaining than "Gil Blas," or "Monte Cristo," or any of the imaginary travels, and escapes, and masquerades in life, which have been written in imitation of them. They tell the story of a man who loved life passionately for its own sake: one to whom woman was, indeed, the most important thing in the world, but to whom nothing in the world was indifferent. The bust which gives us the most lively notion of him shows us a great, vivid, intellectual face, full of fiery energy and calm resource, the face of a thinker and a fighter in one. A scholar, an adventurer, perhaps a Cabalist, a busy stirrer in politics, a gamester, one "born for the fairer sex," as he tells us, and born also to be a vagabond; this man, who is remembered now for his written account of his own life, was that

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rarest kind of autobiographer, one who did not live to write, but wrote because he had lived, and when he could live no longer.

And his "Memoirs" take one all over Europe, giving side-lights, all the more valuable in being almost accidental, upon many of the affairs and people most interesting to us during two-thirds of the eighteenth century. Giacomo Casanova was born in Venice, of Spanish and Italian parentage, on April 2d, 1725; he died at the Château of Dux, in Bohemia, on June 4th, 1798. In that lifetime of seventy-three years he travelled, as his "Memoirs" show us, in Italy, France, Germany, Austria, England, Switzerland, Belgium, Russia, Poland, Spain, Holland, Turkey; he met Voltaire at Ferney, Rousseau at Montmorenci, Fontenelle, d'Alembert and Crébillon at Paris, George III. in London, Louis XV. at Fontainebleau, Catherine the Great at St. Petersburg, Benedict XII. at Rome, Joseph II. at Vienna, Frederick the Great at Sans-Souci. Imprisoned by the Inquisitors of State in the *Piombi* at Venice, he made, in 1755, the most famous escape in history. His "Memoirs," as we have them, break off abruptly at the moment when he is expecting a safe-conduct, and the permission to return to Venice after twenty years' wanderings. He did return, as we know from documents in the Venetian archives; he returned as secret agent of the Inquisitors, and remained in their service from 1774 until 1782. At the end of 1782, he left Venice; and next year we find him in Paris, where, in 1784, he met Count Waldstein, at the Venetian Ambassador's, and was invited by him to become his librarian at Dux. He accepted, and for the fourteen remaining years of his life lived at Dux, where he wrote his "Memoirs."

Casanova died in 1798, but nothing was heard of the "Memoirs" (which the Prince de Ligne, in his own "Memoirs," tells us that Casanova had read to him, and in which he found "*du dramatique, de la rapidité, du comique, de la philosophie, des choses neuves, sublimes, inimitables même*") until the year 1820, when a certain Carlo Angiolini brought to the publishing house of Brockhaus, in Leipzig, a manuscript entitled "*Histoire de ma vie jusqu'à l'an 1797*," in the handwriting of Casanova. This manuscript, which I have examined at Leipzig, is written on foolscap paper, rather rough and yellow; it is written on both sides of the page, and in sheets or quires; here and there, the paging shows that some pages have been omitted, and in their

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place are smaller sheets of thinner and whiter paper, all in Casanova's handsome, unmistakable handwriting. The manuscript is done up in twelve bundles, corresponding with the twelve volumes of the original edition; and only in one place is there a gap. The fourth and fifth chapters of the twelfth volume are missing, as the editor of the original edition points out, adding: "It is not probable that these two chapters have been withdrawn from the manuscript of Casanova by a strange hand; everything leads us to believe that the author himself suppressed them, in the intention, no doubt, of re-writing them, but without having found time to do so." The manuscript ends abruptly with the year 1774, and not with the year 1797, as the title would lead us to suppose.

This manuscript, in its original state, has never been printed. Herr Brockhaus, on obtaining possession of the manuscript, had it translated into German by Wilhelm Schütz, but with many omissions and alterations, and published this translation, volume by volume, from 1822 to 1828, under the title, *"Aus den Memoiren des Venetianers Jacob Casanova de Seingalt."* While the German edition was in course of publication, Herr Brockhaus employed a certain Jean Laforgue, a professor of the French language at Dresden, to revise the original manuscript, correcting Casanova's vigorous, but at times incorrect, and often somewhat Italian, French according to his own notions of elegant writing, suppressing passages which seemed too free-spoken from the point of view of morals and of politics, and altering the names of some of the persons referred to, or replacing those names by initials. This revised text was published in twelve volumes, the first two in 1826, the third and fourth in 1828, the fifth to the eighth in 1832, and the ninth to the twelfth in 1838; the first four bearing the imprint of Brockhaus at Leipzig and Ponthieu et Cie. at Paris; the next four the imprint of Heideloff et Campé at Paris; and the last four nothing but *"A Bruxelles."* The volumes are all uniform, and were all really printed for the firm of Brockhaus. This, however far from representing the real text, is the only authoritative edition, and my references throughout this article will always be to this edition.

In turning over the manuscript at Leipzig, I read some of the suppressed passages, and regretted their suppression; but Herr Brockhaus, the present head of the firm, assured me that they are not really very considerable in number. The damage, how-

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ever, to the vivacity of the whole narrative, by the persistent alterations of M. Laforgue, is incalculable. I compared many passages, and found scarcely three consecutive sentences untouched. Herr Brockhaus (whose courtesy I cannot sufficiently acknowledge) was kind enough to have a passage copied out for me, which I afterwards read over, and checked word by word. In this passage Casanova says, for instance: *"Elle venoit presque tous les jours lui faire une belle visite."* This is altered into: *"Cependant chaque jour Thérèse venait lui faire une visite."* Casanova says that some one *"avoit, comme de raison, formé le projet d'allier Dieu avec le diable."* This is made to read: *"Qui, comme de raison, avait saintement formé le projet d'allier les intérêts du ciel aux oeuvres de ce monde."* Casanova tells us that Thérèse would not commit a mortal sin *"pour devenir reine du monde": "pour une couronne,"* corrects the indefatigable Laforgue. *"Il ne savoit que lui dire"* becomes *"Dans cet état de perplexité;"* and so forth. It must, therefore, be realized that the "Memoirs," as we have them, are only a kind of pale tracing of the vivid colors of the original.

When Casanova's "Memoirs" were first published, doubts were expressed as to their authenticity, first by Ugo Foscolo (in the *Westminster Review*, 1827), then by Quérard, supposed to be an authority in regard to anonymous and pseudonymous writings, finally by Paul Lacroix, *"le bibliophile Jacob,"* who suggested, or rather expressed his "certainty," that the real author of the "Memoirs" was Stendhal, whose "mind, character, ideas and style" he seemed to recognize on every page. This theory, as foolish and as unsupported as the Baconian theory of Shakespeare, has been carelessly accepted, or at all events accepted as possible, by many good scholars who have never taken the trouble to look into the matter for themselves. It was finally disproved by a series of articles of the late Armand Baschet, entitled *"Preuves curieuses de l'authenticité des Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt,"* in *"Le Livre,"* January, February, April and May, 1881; and these proofs were further corroborated by two articles of Alessandro d'Ancona, entitled *"Un Avventuriere del Secolo XVIII.,"* in the *"Nuova Antologia,"* February 1 and August 1, 1882. Baschet had never himself seen the manuscript of the "Memoirs," but he had learnt all the facts about it from Messrs. Brockhaus, and he had himself examined the numerous papers

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relating to Casanova in the Venetian archives. A similar examination was made at the Frari at about the same time by the Abbé Fulin; and I myself, in 1894, not knowing at the time that the discovery had been already made, made it over again for myself. There the arrest of Casanova, his imprisonment in the *Piombi,* the exact date of his escape, the name of the monk who accompanied him, are all authenticated by documents contained in the *riferte* of the Inquisition of State; there are the bills for the repairs of the roof and walls of the cell from which he escaped; there are the reports of the spies on whose information he was arrested, for his too dangerous free-spokenness in matters of religion and morality. The same archives contain forty-eight letters of Casanova to the Inquisitors of State, dating from 1763 to 1782, among the *Riferte dei Confidenti,* or reports of secret agents; the earliest asking permission to return to Venice, the rest giving information in regard to the immoralities of the city, after his return there; all in the same handwriting as the "Memoirs." Further proof could scarcely be needed, but Baschet has done more than prove the authenticity, he has proved the extraordinary veracity, of the "Memoirs." F. W. Barthold, in *"Die Geschichtlichen Persönlichkeiten in J. Casanova's Memoiren,"* 2 vols., 1846, had already examined some hundred of Casanova's allusions to well-known people, showing the perfect exactitude of all but six or seven, and out of these six or seven inexactitudes ascribing only a single one to the author's intention. Baschet and d'Ancona both carry on what Barthold had begun; other investigators, in France, Italy and Germany, have followed them; and two things are now certain, first, that Casanova himself wrote the "Memoirs" published under his name, though not textually in the precise form in which we have them; and, second, that as their veracity becomes more and more evident as they are confronted with more and more independent witnesses, it is only fair to suppose that they are equally truthful where the facts are such as could only have been known to Casanova himself.

II.

For more than two-thirds of a century it has been known that Casanova spent the last fourteen years of his life at Dux, that he wrote his "Memoirs" there, and that he died there. During all this time people have been discussing the authenticity and the

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truthfulness of the "Memoirs," they have been searching for information about Casanova in various directions, and yet hardly any one has ever taken the trouble, or obtained the permission, to make a careful examination in precisely the one place where information was most likely to be found. The very existence of the manuscripts at Dux was known only to a few, and to most of these only on hearsay; and thus the singular good fortune was reserved for me, on my visit to Count Waldstein in September, 1899, to be the first to discover the most interesting things contained in these manuscripts. M. Octave Uzanne, though he had not himself visited Dux, had indeed procured copies of some of the manuscripts, a few of which were published by him in *"Le Livre,"* in 1887 and 1889. But with the death of *"Le Livre"* in 1889, the *Casanova inèdit* came to an end, and has never, so far as I know, been continued elsewhere. Beyond the publication of these fragments, nothing has been done with the manuscripts at Dux, nor has an account of them ever been given by any one who has been allowed to examine them.

For five years, ever since I had discovered the documents in the Venetian archives, I had wanted to go to Dux; and four summers ago, when I was staying with Count Lützow at Zempach, in Bohemia, I found the way kindly opened for me. Count Waldstein, the present head of the family, with extreme courtesy, put all his manuscripts at my disposal, and invited me to stay with him. Unluckily, he was called away on the morning of the day that I reached Dux. He had left everything ready for me, and I was shown over the castle by a friend of his, Dr. Kittel, whose courtesy I should like also to acknowledge. After a hurried visit to the castle we started on the long drive to Oberleutensdorf, a smaller Schloss near Komotau, where the Waldstein family was then staying. The air was sharp and bracing; the two Russian horses flew like the wind; I was whirled along in an unfamiliar darkness, through a strange country, black with coal mines, through dark pine woods, where a wild peasantry dwelt in little mining towns. Here and there, a few men and women passed us on the road, in their Sunday finery; then a long space of silence, and we were in the open country, galloping between broad fields; and always in a haze of lovely hills, which I saw more distinctly as we drove back next morning.

The return to Dux was like a triumphal entry, as we dashed

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through the market-place filled with people come for the Monday market, pots and pans and vegetables strewn in heaps all over the ground, on the rough paving stones, up to the great gateway of the castle, leaving but just room for us to drive through their midst. I had the sensation of an enormous building: all Bohemian castles are big, but this one was like a royal palace. Set there in the midst of the town, after the Bohemian fashion, it opens at the back upon great gardens, as if it were in the midst of the country. I walked through room after room, along corridor after corridor; everywhere there were pictures, everywhere portraits of Wallenstein, and battle-scenes in which he led on his troops. The library, which was formed, or at least arranged, by Casanova, and which remains as he left it, contains some 25,000 volumes, some of them of considerable value; one of the most famous books in Bohemian literature, Skála's "History of the Church," exists in manuscript at Dux, and it is from this manuscript that the two published volumes of it were printed. The library forms part of the Museum, which occupies a ground-floor wing of the castle. The first room is an armory, in which all kinds of arms are arranged, in a decorative way, covering the ceiling and the walls with strange patterns. The second room contains pottery, collected by Casanova's Waldstein on his Eastern travels. The third room is full of curious mechanical toys, and cabinets, and carvings in ivory. Finally, we come to the library, contained in the two innermost rooms. The book-shelves are painted white, and reach to the low vaulted ceilings, which are whitewashed. At the end of a book-case, in the corner of one of the windows, hangs a fine engraved portrait of Casanova.

After I had been all over the castle, so long Casanova's home, I was taken to Count Waldstein's study, and left there with the manuscripts. I found six huge cardboard cases, large enough to contain foolscap paper, lettered on the back: "*Gräfl. Waldstein-Wartenberg'sches Real Fiedicommiss, Dux-Oberleutensdorf: Handschriftlicher Nachlass Casanova.*" The cases were arranged so as to stand like books; they opened at the side; and on opening them, one after another, I found series after series of manuscripts roughly thrown together, after some pretence at arrangement, and lettered with a very generalized description of contents. The greater part of the manuscripts were in Casanova's handwriting, which I could see gradually beginning to get shaky with

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years. Most were written in French, a certain number in Italian. The beginning of a catalogue in the library, though said to be by him, was not in his handwriting. Perhaps it was taken down at his dictation. There were, also, some copies of Italian and Latin poems not written by him. Then there were many big bundles of letters addressed to him, dating over more than thirty years. Almost all the rest was in his own handwriting.

I came first upon the smaller manuscripts, among which I found, jumbled together on the same and on separate scraps of paper, washing-bills, accounts, hotel bills, lists of letters written, first drafts of letters with many erasures, notes on books, theological and mathematical notes, sums, Latin quotations, French and Italian verses, with variants, a long list of classical names which have and have not been "*francisés,*" with reasons for and against; "what I must wear at Dresden"; headings without anything to follow, such as: "reflexions on respiration, on the true cause of youth—the crows"; a new method of winning the lottery at Rome; recipes, among which is a long printed list of perfumes sold at Spa; a newspaper cutting, dated Prague, 25 October, 1790, on the thirty-seventh balloon ascent of Blanchard; thanks to some "noble donor" for the gift of a dog called "Finette"; a passport for "*Monsieur de Casanova, Venetian, allant d'ici en Hollande,*" October 13, 1758, (*"Ce Passeport bon pour quinze jours"*), together with an order for post-horses, gratis, from Paris to Bordeaux and Bayonne.*

Occasionally, one gets a glimpse into his daily life at Dux, as in this note, scribbled on a fragment of paper (here and always I translate the French literally): "I beg you to tell my servant what the biscuits are that I like to eat, dipped in wine, to fortify my stomach. I believe that they can all be found at Roman's." Usually, however, these notes, though often suggested by something closely personal, branch off into more general considerations; or else begin with general considerations, and end with a case in point. Thus, for instance, a fragment of three pages begins: "A compliment which is only made to gild the pill is a positive impertinence, and Monsieur Bailli is nothing but a charlatan; the monarch ought to have spit in his face, but the monarch trembled with fear." A manuscript entitled "*Essai*

* See the account of this visit to Holland, and the reference to taking a passport, "Memoirs," v., 238.

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d'Egoisme," dated "Dux, this 27th June, 1769," contains, in the midst of various reflections, an offer to let his *appartement* in return for enough money to "tranquillise for six months two Jew creditors at Prague." Another manuscript is headed "Pride and Folly," and begins with a long series of antitheses, such as: "All fools are not proud, and all proud men are fools. Many fools are happy, all proud men are unhappy." On the same sheet follows this instance or application:

"Whether it is possible to compose a Latin distich of the greatest beauty without knowing either the Latin language or prosody. We must examine the possibility and the impossibility, and afterwards see who is the man who says he is the author of the distich, for there are extraordinary people in the world. My brother, in short, ought to have composed the distich, because he says so, and because he confided it to me tête-à-tête. I had, it is true, difficulty in believing him; but what is one to do? Either one must believe, or suppose him capable of telling a lie which could only be told by a fool; and that is impossible, for all Europe knows that my brother is not a fool."

Here, as so often in these manuscripts, we seem to see Casanova thinking on paper. He uses scraps of paper (sometimes the blank page of a letter, on the other side of which we see the address) as a kind of informal diary; and it is characteristic of him, of the man of infinitely curious mind, which this adventurer really was, that there are so few merely personal notes among these casual jottings. Often, they are purely abstract; at times, metaphysical *jeux d'esprit,* like the sheet of fourteen "Different wagers," which begins:

"I wager that it is not true that a man who weighs a hundred pounds will weigh more if you kill him. I wager that if there is any difference, he will weigh less. I wager that diamond powder has not sufficient force to kill a man."

Side by side with these fanciful excursions into science, come more serious ones, as in the note on Algebra, which traces its progress since the year 1494, before which "it had only arrived at the solution of problems of the second degree, inclusive." A scrap of paper tells us that Casanova "did not like regular towns." "I like," he says, "Venice, Rome, Florence, Milan, Constantinople, Genoa." Then he becomes abstract and inquisitive again, and writes two pages, full of curious, out of the way learning, on the name of Paradise.

"The name of Paradise is a name in Genesis which indicates a place of pleasure *(lieu voluptueux)*: this term is Persian. This place of pleasure was made by God before he had created man."

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It may be remembered that Casanova quarrelled with Voltaire, because Voltaire had told him frankly that his translation of *"L'Ecossaise"* was a bad translation. It is piquant to read another note written in this style of righteous indignation:

"Voltaire, the hardy Voltaire, whose pen is without bit or bridle; Voltaire who devoured the Bible, and ridiculed our dogmas, doubts, and after having made proselytes to impiety, is not ashamed, being reduced to the extremity of life, to ask for the sacraments, and to cover his body with more relics than St. Louis had at Amboise."

Here is an argument more in keeping with the tone of the "Memoirs":

"A girl who is pretty and good, and as virtuous as you please, ought not to take it ill that a man, carried away by her charms, should set himself to the task of making their conquest. If this man cannot please her by any means, even if his passion be criminal, she ought never to take offence at it, nor treat him unkindly; she ought to be gentle, and pity him, if she does not love him, and think it enough to keep invincibly hold upon her own duty."

Occasionally he touches upon æsthetical matters, as in a fragment which begins with this liberal definition of beauty:

"Harmony makes beauty, says M. de S. P. (Bernardin de St. Pierre), but the definition is too short, if he thinks he has said everything. Here is mine. Remember that the subject is metaphysical. An object really beautiful ought to seem beautiful to all whose eyes fall upon it. That is all; there is nothing more to be said."

At times we have an anecdote and its commentary, perhaps jotted down for use in that latter part of the "Memoirs" which was never written, or which has been lost. Here is a single sheet, dated "this 2nd September, 1791," and headed "Souvenir":

"The Prince de Rosenberg said to me, as we went down stairs, that Madame de Rosenberg was dead, and asked me if the Comte de Waldstein had in the library the illustration of the Villa d'Altichiero, which the Emperor had asked for in vain at the city library of Prague, and when I answered 'yes,' he gave an equivocal laugh. A moment afterwards, he asked me if he might tell the Emperor. 'Why not, monsigneur? It is not a secret.' 'Is His Majesty coming to Dux?' 'If he goes to Oberlaitensdorf *(sic)* he will go to Dux, too; and he may ask you for it, for there is a monument there which relates to him when he was Grand Duke.' 'In that case, His Majesty can also see my critical remarks on the Egyptian prints.'"

"The Emperor asked me this morning, 6 October, how I employed my time at Dux, and I told him that I was making an Italian anthology. 'You have all the Italians, then?' 'All, sire.' See what a lie leads to. If I had not lied in saying that I was making an anthology, I should not have found myself obliged to lie again in saying that we have all the Italian poets. If the Emperor comes to Dux, I shall kill myself."

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"They say that this Dux is a delightful spot," says Casanova in one of the most personal of his notes, "and I see that it might be for many; but not for me, for what delights me in my old age is independent of the place which I inhabit. When I do not sleep, I dream, and when I am tired of dreaming, I blacken paper, then I read, and most often reject all that my pen has vomited." Here we see him blackening paper, on every occasion, and for every purpose. In one bundle I found an unfinished story, about Roland, and some adventure with women in a cave; then a "Meditation on arising from sleep, 19 May, 1789"; then a "Short Reflection of a Philosopher who finds himself thinking of procuring his own death. At Dux, on getting out of bed on the 13th October, 1793, day dedicated to St. Lucy, memorable in my too long life." A big budget, containing cryptograms, is headed "Grammatical Lottery"; and there is the title page of a treatise on *"The Duplication of the Hexahedron, demonstrated geometrically to all the Universities and all the Academies of Europe."** There are innumerable verses, French and Italian, in all stages, occasionally attaining the finality of these lines, which appear in half a dozen tentative forms:

"Sans mystère point de plaisirs,
Sans silence point de mystère.
Charme divin de mes loisirs,
Solitude! que tu m'es chère!"

Then there are a number of more or less complete manuscripts of some extent. There is the manuscript of the translation of Homer's "Iliad," *in ottava rima* (published in Venice, 1775-78); of the *"Histoire de Venise,"* of the *"Icosameron,"* a curious book published in 1787, purporting to be "translated from English," but really an original work of Casanova; *"Philocalies sur les Sottises des Mortels,"* a long manuscript never published; the sketch and beginning of *"Le Polemarque, ou la Calomnie demasquée par le presence d'esprit. Tragicomédie en trois actes, composée à Dux dans le mois de Juin de l'Année, 1791,"* which recurs again under the form of the *"Polemoscope: La Lorgnette menteuse ou la Calomnie demasquée,"* acted before the Princesse de Ligne at her château at Teplitz, 1791. There is a treatise in Italian, *"Delle Passioni";* there are long dialogues, such as *"Le Philosophe et le Theologien,"* and *"Rêve: Dieu-Moi";* there is

* See Charles Henry, *"Les Connaissances Mathématiques de Casanova,"* Rome, 1883.

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the *"Songe d'un Quart d'Heure,"* divided into minutes; there is the very lengthy criticism of *"Bernardin de Saint-Pierre";* there is the *"Confutation d'une Censure indiscrète qu'on lit dans la Gazette de Jena, 19 Juin, 1789";* with another large manuscript, unfortunately imperfect, first called *"L'Insulte,"* and then *"Placet au Public,"* dated "Dux, this 2nd March, 1790," referring to the same criticism on the *"Icosameron"* and the *"Fuite des Prisons."* *"L'Histoire de ma Fuite des Prisons de la République de Venise, qu'on appelle les Plombs,"* which is the first draft of the most famous part of the "Memoirs," was published at Leipzig in 1788; and, having read it in the Marcian Library at Venice, I am not surprised to learn from this indignant document that it was printed "under the care of a young Swiss, who had the talent to commit a hundred faults of orthography."

III.

We come now to the documents directly relating to the "Memoirs," and among these are several attempts at a preface, in which we see the actual preface coming gradually into form. One is entitled *"Casanova au Lecteur,"* another *"Histoire de mon Existence,"* and a third *"Preface."* There is also a brief and characteristic *"Précis de ma vie,"* dated November 17, 1797. Some of these have been printed in *"Le Livre,"* 1887. But by far the most important manuscript that I discovered, one which, apparently, I am the first to discover, is a manuscript entitled *"Extrait du Chapitre 4 et 5."* It is written on paper similar to that on which the "Memoirs" are written; the pages are numbered 104-148; and though it is described as *"Extrait,"* it seems to contain, at all events, the greater part of the missing chapters to which I have already referred, Chapters IV. and V. of the last volume of the "Memoirs." In this manuscript we find Armelline and Scolastica, whose story is interrupted by the abrupt ending of Chapter III.; we find Mariuccia of Vol. VII. chapter 9, who married a hair-dresser; and we find also Jaconine, whom Casanova recognizes as his daughter, "much prettier than Sophia, the daughter of Thérèse Pompeati whom I had left at London."* It is curious that this very important manuscript, which supplies the one missing link in the "Memoirs," should never have been discovered by any of the few people who have had

* See Memoirs, IX., 272, et seq.

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the opportunity of looking over the Dux manuscripts. I am inclined to explain it by the fact that the case in which I found this manuscript contains some papers not relating to Casanova. Probably, those who looked into this case looked no further. I have told Herr Brockhaus of my discovery, and I hope to see Chapters IV. and V. in their places when the long-looked for edition of the complete text is at length given to the world.

Another manuscript which I found tells with great piquancy the whole story of the Abbé de Brosses' ointment, the curing of the Princesse de Conti's pimples, and the birth of the Duc de Montpensier, which is told very briefly, and with much less point, in the "Memoirs" (vol. III., p. 327). Readers of the "Memoirs" will remember the duel at Warsaw with Count Branicki in 1766 (vol. X., pp. 274-320), an affair which attracted a good deal of attention at the time, and of which there is an account in a letter from the Abbé Taruffi to the dramatist, Francesco Albergati, dated Warsaw, March 19, 1766, quoted in Ernesto Masi's "Life of Albergati," Bologna, 1878. A manuscript at Dux in Casanova's handwriting gives an account of this duel in the third person; it is entitled: *"Description de l'affaire arrivée a Varsovie le 5 Mars, 1766."* D'Ancona, in the *"Nuova Antalogia"* (vol. 67, p. 412), referring to the Abbé Taruffi's account, mentions what he considers to be a slight discrepancy: that Taruffi refers to the *danseuse* about whom the duel was fought as La Casacci, while Casanova refers to her as La Catai. In this manuscript Casanova always refers to her as La Casacci; La Catai is evidently one of M. Laforgue's arbitrary alterations of the text.

In turning over another manuscript, I was caught by the name Charpillon, which every reader of the "Memoirs" will remember as the name of the harpy by whom Casanova suffered so much in London, in 1763-4. This manuscript begins by saying: "I have been in London for six months and have been to see them (that is, the mother and daughter) in their own house," where he finds nothing but "swindlers, who cause all who go there to lose their money in gambling." This manuscript adds some details to the story told in the ninth and tenth volumes of the "Memoirs," and refers to the meeting with the Charpillons four and a half years before, described in volume V., pages 482-485. It is written in a tone of great indignation. Elsewhere, I found a letter written by Casanova, but not signed, referring to an

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anonymous letter which he had received in reference to the Charpillons, and ending: "My handwriting is known." It was not until the last that I came upon great bundles of letters addressed to Casanova, and so carefully preserved that little scraps of paper on which postscripts are written are still in their places. One still sees the seals on the backs of many of the letters, on paper which has slightly yellowed with age, leaving the ink, however, almost always fresh. They come from Venice, Paris, Rome, Prague, Bayreuth, The Hague, Genoa, Fiume, Trieste, &c., and are addressed to as many places, often *"poste restante."* Many are letters from women, some in beautiful handwriting, on thick paper; others on scraps of paper, in painful hands, ill spelt. A Countess writes pitifully, imploring help; one protests her love, in spite of the "many chagrins" he has caused her; another asks "how they are to live together"; another laments that a report has gone about that she is secretly living with him, which may harm *his* reputation. Some are in French, more in Italian. *"Mon cher Giacometto,"* writes one woman, in French; *"Carissimo e Amatissimo,"* writes another, in Italian. These letters from women are in some confusion, and are in need of a good deal of sorting over and rearranging before their full extent can be realized. Thus I found letters in the same handwriting separated by letters in other handwritings; many are unsigned, or signed only by a single initial; many are undated, or dated only with the day of the week or month. There are a great many letters, dating from 1779 to 1786, signed "Francesca Buschini," a name which I cannot identify; they are written in Italian, and one of them begins: *" Unico Mio vero Amico "* (" my only true friend"). Others are signed "Virginia B."; one of these is dated "Forli, October 15, 1773." There is also a "Theresa B.," who writes from Genoa. I was at first unable to identify the writer of a whole series of letters in French, very affectionate and intimate letters, usually unsigned, occasionally signed "B." She calls herself *"votre petite amie";* or she ends with a half smiling, half reproachful "good-night, and sleep better than I." In one letter, sent from Paris in 1759, she writes: "Never believe me, but when I tell you that I love you, and that I shall love you always." In another letter, ill-spelt, as her letters often are, she writes: "Be assured that evil tongues, vapors, calumny, nothing can change my heart, which is yours entirely,

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and has no will to change its master." Now, it seems to me that these letters must be from Manon Baletti, and that they are the letters referred to in the sixth volume of the "Memoirs." We read there (page 60) how on Christmas day, 1759, Casanova receives a letter from Manon in Paris, announcing her marriage with "M. Blondel, architect to the King, and member of his Academy"; she returns him his letters, and begs him to return hers, or burn them. Instead of doing so, he allows Esther to read them, intending to burn them afterwards. Esther begs to be allowed to keep the letters, promising to "preserve them religiously all her life." "These letters," he says, "numbered more than two hundred, and the shortest were of four pages." Certainly there are not two hundred of them at Dux, but it seems to me highly probable that Casanova made a final selection from Manon's letters, and that it is these which I have found.

But, however this may be, I was fortunate enough to find the set of letters which I was most anxious to find: the letters from Henriette, whose loss every writer on Casanova has lamented. Henriette, it will be remembered, makes her first appearance at Cesena, in the year 1748; after their meeting at Geneva, she reappears, romantically *à propos,* twenty-two years later, at Aix in Provence; and she writes to Casanova proposing *"un commerce épistolaire,"* asking him what he has done since his escape from prison, and promising to do her best to tell him all that has happened to her during the long interval. After quoting her letter, he adds: "I replied to her, accepting the correspondence that she offered me, and telling her briefly all my vicissitudes. She related to me in turn, in some forty letters, all the history of her life. If she dies before me, I shall add these letters to these 'Memoirs;' but to-day she is still alive, and always happy, though now old." It has never been known what became of these letters, and why they were not added to the "Memoirs." I have found a great quantity of them, some signed with her married name in full, "Henriette de Schnetzmann," and I am inclined to think that she survived Casanova, for one of the letters is dated Bayreuth, 1798, the year of Casanova's death. They are remarkably charming, written with a mixture of piquancy and distinction; and I will quote the characteristic beginning and end of the last letter I was able to find. It begins: "No, it is impossible to be sulky with you!" and ends: "If I become

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vicious, it is you, my Mentor, who make me so, and I cast my sins upon you. Even if I were damned I should still be your most devoted friend, Henriette de Schnetzmann." Casanova was twenty-three when he met Henriette; now, herself an old woman, she writes to him when he is seventy-three, as if the fifty years that had passed were blotted out in the faithful affection of her memory. How many more discreet and less changing lovers have had the quality of constancy in change, to which this life-long correspondence bears witness? Does it not suggest a view of Casanova not quite the view of all the world? To me it shows the real man, who perhaps of all others best understood what Shelley meant when he said:

> "True love in this differs from gold or clay,
> That to divide is not to take away."

But, though the letters from women naturally interested me the most, they were only a certain proportion of the great mass of correspondence which I turned over. There were letters from Carlo Angiolini, who was afterwards to bring the manuscript of the "Memoirs" to Brockhaus; from Balbi, the monk with whom Casanova escaped from the *Piombi;* from the Marquis Albergati, playwright, actor and eccentric, of whom there is some account in the "Memoirs"; from the Marquis Mosca, "a distinguished man of letters whom I was anxious to see," Casanova tells us in the same volume in which he describes his visit to the Moscas at Pesaro; from Zulian, brother of the Duchess of Fiano; from Richard Lorrain, *"bel homme, ayant de l'esprit, le ton et le goût de la bonne société,"* who came to settle at Gorizia in 1773, while Casanova was there; from the Procurator Morosini, whom he speaks of in the "Memoirs" as his "protector," and as one of those through whom he obtained permission to return to Venice. His other "protector," the *avogador* Zaguri, had, says Casanova, "since the affair of the Marquis Albergati, carried on a most interesting correspondence with me"; and in fact I found a bundle of no less than a hundred and thirty-eight letters from him, dating from 1784 to 1798. Another bundle contains one hundred and seventy-two letters from Count Lamberg. In the "Memoirs" Casanova says, referring to his visit to Augsburg at the end of 1761:

> "I used to spend my evenings in a very agreeable manner at the house of Count Max de Lamberg, who resided at the court of the

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Prince-Bishop with the title of Grand Marshal. What particularly attached me to Count Lamberg was his literary talent. A first-rate scholar, learned to a degree, he has published several much esteemed works. I carried on an exchange of letters with him which ended only with his death, four years ago, in 1792."

Casanova tells us that, at his second visit to Augsburg in the early part of 1767, he "supped with Count Lamberg two or three times a week," during the four months he was there. It is with this year that the letters I have found begin: they end with the year of his death, 1792. In his "*Mémorial d'un Mondain*," Lamberg refers to Casanova as "a man known in literature, a man of profound knowledge." In the first edition of 1774, he laments that "a man such as M. de S. Galt" should not yet have been taken back into favor by the Venetian government, and in the second edition, 1775, rejoices over Casanova's return to Venice. Then there are letters from Da Ponte, who tells the story of Casanova's curious relations with Mme. d'Urfé, in his "Memorie scritte da esso," 1829; from Pittoni, Bono, and others mentioned in different parts of the "Memoirs," and from some dozen others who are not mentioned in them. The only letters in the whole collection that have been published are those from the Prince de Ligne and from Count Koenig.

IV.

Casanova tells us in his "Memoirs" that, during his later years at Dux, he had only been able to "hinder black melancholy from devouring his poor existence, or sending him out of his mind," by writing ten or twelve hours a day. The copious manuscripts at Dux show us how persistently he was at work on a singular variety of subjects, in addition to the "Memoirs" and to the various books which he published during those years. We see him jotting down everything that comes into his head, for his own amusement, and certainly without any thought of publication; engaging in learned controversies, writing treatises on abstruse mathematical problems, composing comedies to be acted before Count Waldstein's neighbors, practising verse-writing in two languages, indeed with more patience than success, writing philosophical dialogues in which God and himself are the speakers, and keeping up an extensive correspondence, both with distinguished men and with delightful women. His mental activity, up to the age of seventy-three, is as prodigious as the activity

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which he had expended in living a multiform and incalculable life. As in life everything living had interested him, so in his retirement from life every idea makes its separate appeal to him; and he welcomes ideas with the same impartiality with which he had welcomed adventures. Passion has intellectualized itself, and remains not less passionate. He wishes to do everything, to compete with every one; and it is only after having spent seven years in heaping up miscellaneous learning, and exercising his faculties in many directions, that he turns to look back over his own past life, and to live it over again in memory, as he writes down the narrative of what had interested him most in it. "I write in the hope that my history will never see the broad daylight of publication," he tells us, scarcely meaning it, we may be sure, even in the moment of hesitancy which may naturally come to him. But if ever a book was written for the pleasure of writing it, it was this one; and an autobiography written for oneself is not likely to be anything but frank.

"Truth is the only God I have ever adored," he tells us; and we now know how truthful he was in saying so. I have only summarized in this article the most important confirmations of his exact accuracy in facts and dates; the number could be extended indefinitely. In the manuscripts we find innumerable further confirmations; and their chief value as testimony is that they tell us nothing which we should not have already known, if we had merely taken Casanova at his word. But it is not always easy to take people at their own word, when they are writing about themselves; and the world has been very loth to believe in Casanova as he represents himself. It has been specially loth to believe that he is telling the truth when he tells us about his adventures with women. But the letters contained among these manuscripts show us the women of Casanova writing to him with all the fervor and all the fidelity which he attributes to them; and they show him to us in the character of as fervid and faithful a lover. In every fact, every detail, and in the whole mental impression which they convey, these manuscripts bring before us the Casanova of the "Memoirs." As I seemed to come upon Casanova at home, it was as if I came upon an old friend, already perfectly known to me, before I had made my pilgrimage to Dux.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

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THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL SITUATION OF COLOMBIA.

BY EUSEBIO A. MORALES.

I.

To understand well the actual political and economical situation of Colombia, it is necessary to call to mind the happenings of the past eighteen years, a period of misgovernment, of confusion and of tyranny unprecedented in the annals of that republic.

In 1884 the country was governed by Dr. Rafael Nuñez, a man of strong intellect, who had always borne the repute of being attached from firm conviction to the principles of the Liberal Party, to whose support he owed his election. The republic being then divided into so-called sovereign States, in imitation of the United States of America, the majority of these were governed by parties with the title of Presidents or Governors, who belonged to the group or majority that had elected Dr. Nuñez. Against two of these Governors there broke out, in their respective States, revolutionary movements towards the end of 1884, one of which, that in the State of Santander, was terminated by a treaty whereby it was stipulated that a Convention should be elected for the designation anew of the President of the State. In that Convention, elected by the popular vote, members of the Liberal Party, who were opposed to the policy of Dr. Nuñez, were in a majority, and the President-elect of the State was General Sergio Camargo, a military man who at the time stood in high repute.

Dr. Nuñez, apprehensive of the failure of his political projects, till then unknown to the majority of the intelligent portion of the nation, dissolved the Convention of Santander by force, thus at a stroke overthrowing the federal Constitution of the republic, which gave the States ample authority for the control of their in-

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ternal organization and government, and so breaking his oath to maintain and fulfil the fundamental laws of the country.

The Liberal Party, filled with indignation, rose in arms against the perjured ruler; but the Conservative Party that had been sedulously watching for an opportunity to come into power to seize the reins of government, arrayed itself on the side of the perjurer, and with such aid the revolution was put down in 1885.

The struggle once over, Dr. Nuñez proclaimed the cessation or non-existence of the Constitution from which he derived his authority; and through his provincial agents he caused to be appointed an assembly of eighteen members, called the Council of Delegates, for the framing of a new Constitution. This was the first instrument of the tyrannical regimen that has ever since been established in the country.

By the Constitution that was framed in 1886, the President of the republic was declared irresponsible; he was authorized to declare the country in a state of siege whenever he should think fit, and in such cases to establish laws; he was invested with absolute power to restrain the public press, even in times of peace, and to imprison or banish public writers; he was, in fact, invested with powers not held by any European monarch.

To maintain this regimen of oppression in a country used to the enjoyment of liberty, it was necessary for him to keep a large army and a numerous staff of public officers with enormous salaries, over and above the concessions, privileges and emoluments which he granted to his partisans in compensation for their adhesion. As, however, the revenue of a country like Colombia, in the period of its incipiency, could ill afford such extravagance, Dr. Nuñez had recourse to the simple expedient of issuing notes as legal tender, and this circulating medium soon became the national currency.

From the time of the introduction of this unpatriotic system, the sole foundation of which was the unbounded ambition of one man, Liberal statesmen strove to avail themselves of the public press to denounce it to the country and the world; but their publications were suppressed, and their authors, eminent men though they were, were imprisoned or sent into exile.

The Liberal Party strove to oppose by legal methods the régime of political oppression and financial disorder; and to that end it labored through the popular elections to send suitable deputies to the Departmental Assemblies and proper representatives and

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senators to the National Legislature. But every effort was fruitless. Despite the majority of the Liberal Party in the nation, only in 1892 and 1896 did it succeed in sending each time a single representative to Congress. How can such an extraordinary phenomenon be accounted for? It was a so-called Election Law which sufficed to organize the fraudulent procedure. By that law, the President of the nation, the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate were authorized to appoint each an equal number of the six members of a body denominated the Grand Electoral Council, who were required to reside in Bogota and to hold their meetings in that city. The Ministers of State themselves, the Representatives and even the Senators, as well as other public officers in the Government's service, were eligible to that office.

The Grand Electoral Council, so constituted, was invested with the function of counting the votes and declaring the election of the President and Vice-President of the republic.

In the capitals of the nine departments, there assembled other corporations called Electoral Councils, similarly constituted, which appointed for every electoral district of fifty thousand inhabitants, or thereabouts, another corporation, styled Electoral Court *(Junta Electoral)*, which in turn appointed for every municipal district another body called the Electoral Jury *(Jurado Electoral)*. For all these Councils, Courts and Juries the public functionaries, military officers in active service and members of the police were eligible. The result was not open to doubt. The electoral machinery once set in motion by a Government that shrank from no fraudulent act, the appointments of members of all the Councils, Courts and Juries necessarily fell to the public functionaries who were interested in upholding the tottering structure; and so it has come about that, throughout the dark period that we have been passing through, not a single man of independent character has ever borne a part in the work of those bodies, in which were to be seen only unscrupulous wretches yoked like oxen to their Driver's cart.

The Electoral Juries so composed, whose office it was to form the lists of voters in each municipal district, obeying superior orders, only inscribed in those lists the public functionaries, the military and the police. The citizens who were not inscribed had the right, it is true, to claim and prove their rights; but, as the

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term fixed for hearing and deciding such reclamations was only fifteen days, the Jury merely had time to attend to 25 or 30 applicants. In this way the Liberal Party was virtually excluded from the elections, and the barefacedness of the Electoral Jurymen grew to such a pitch that, on certain occasions, they refused to inscribe in the lists eminent men who had filled the highest posts in the republic.

Rural districts there were in which the Liberal majority was so overwhelming, that even the public functionaries belonged to that party (not through toleration or a sense of justice, but because the salaries were low), but at the electoral period new sheriffs, judges and policemen were sent there, with increased salaries, from the capitals of the Provinces, so that by fair means or foul the elections should be won.

And if, perchance, through unforeseen circumstances the Liberal Party came off triumphant in any district, the Jurymen, in drawing up the returns, would drop some ink upon the instrument, or erase a name, or commit some error, were it never so insignificant, in order that the document on reaching the higher Court might afford the latter a plausible reason for annulling the election and so suppressing the Liberal votes.

The men who have persistently performed these acts, who have altered numbers, falsified schedules and registers, and issued iniquitous judgments of nullity, have done so, and are ready at any time again to do so, relying upon the promise and guarantee of impunity made them by the Government, which impunity has always been effective despite the impeachments, supported by convincing proof, that have been brought before the tribunals of the nation. In the eyes of those people it was no crime, nay, not even a misdemeanor, to commit fraud in the elections; and even Dr. Nuñez himself, the prime factor in this moral perversion, used to excuse such infamous acts by saying "that it was better to falsify registers and annul the elections than to have to kill the voters."

Election-day in the cities and towns of importance in the republic was one for the display of power and violence. The troops garrisoned there and the police, from the first hours of the day, headed by their chiefs, surrounded the election tables and proceeded to deposit their votes. In that proceeding they nearly exhausted the time allotted by the law for the purpose to the

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citizens; for each soldier and each police agent voted under two distinct names and under more, if necessary. The free citizen who might venture an effort to break through that barrier of soldiers to approach the urn and deposit his vote, was ill-used, beaten, wounded and threatened with death by the chiefs of the forces and the police; and, necessarily, the Government won the elections with overpowering unanimity!

Such is the history of the suffrage in the country that, through force of habit, one is accustomed to call the Republic of Colombia. These assertions may possibly be doubted in foreign parts, and ascribed to a love of exaggeration natural to our race; but the writer most solemnly declares that the foregoing is absolutely true and may be confirmed by the testimony of honorable men and impartial foreigners resident in the country.

A system established on such a foundation could only produce fatal results. A government without counterpoise, and animated with the purpose to remove all censorship of its acts and to impose silence on all opposition, must necessarily employ means, each day more disreputable and base, to maintain its existence in silence and impunity. Thence the illicit transactions with the public treasury, the contracts ruinous to the public wealth, the indemnifications for supposititious or exaggerated damages, the purchase of useless property merely for the gratification of the vender, and finally the forgery of legal-tender notes, since no other name can be given to the clandestine issues of such notes without the authorization of Congress or the knowledge of the public.

The National Exchequer *(Ministerio de Hacienda)* and the Ministries of the Treasury and of Public Works have been, from the year 1885, caves of still unveiled mystery; but an obvious fact has been the transformation of many of those who have filled these posts from a state of poverty to one of wealth. Such scandals, about which a volume might be written, were the occasion of a reactionary movement even in the bosom of the oppressor's party. Some honorable men who never compromise with deeds of iniquity, all the less with the felony of misappropriating the public treasure, raised their voices against such unbridled malversation, and occasioned a serious division in the party that seemed to be of a permanent character. Those who were for a just and honorable government styled themselves His-

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torical Conservatives, while those in power appropriated the name of Nationalists, a vague appellation that has served to cover sudden and somewhat shameful transformations.

The Historical Party tried to create a press, in order to denounce the abuses and malversations that gave rise to the division in the ministerial ranks; but their writings were suppressed and their writers imprisoned, confined or banished, as had been done by themselves when in power to the writings and the writers of the Liberal Party. They also endeavored to send to the legislative bodies their eminent men, to enforce the wholesome doctrines they taught; but they too were turned away from the polls by their previous commilitants, in the same way in which the Liberals who thirsted after righteousness had been turned away by themselves in concert with their former confederates.

From that moment it became evident to every impartial observer, that the solution of the serious problem before the nation lay in the mutual accord of the two parties of the opposition, for the purpose of establishing a legal régime precursory to a definitive settlement that might satisfy the general aspiration.

The Liberal Party gave credit to the Historical faction for sincerity in its seeming repentance; and, performing an act of the most devoted patriotism, it canvassed for the election to the Presidency of General Marceliano Velez, the leader of the Historical Party and its candidate in 1891. The Liberal chiefs thus proved that they were not pursuing personal advantages, nor aspiring to the distribution of the public offices and sinecures among themselves, but that they simply had in view the re-establishment of a republican régime with the law for its foundation. The candidate of the Historical Party became the victim of unbounded electoral fraud, and his opponent assumed the government in 1892.

In 1897 the situation was still more grave and complicated. The Nationalist Conservatives proclaimed as their candidate for the Presidency of the republic Miguel A. Caro, the Vice-President, who had acted as President after the demise of Dr. Nuñez; while the Historicals presented as their candidate General Rafael Reyes, a politician of no definite tendency, who dared not even assume the aggressive attitude befitting the candidate of the opposition; and the Liberal Party awaited events, ready either to give its support to the candidate who would bind himself to

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be a faithful upholder of the law and who would guarantee the effectiveness of its rights, or to proclaim a candidate of its own.

Caro, after a silence that seemed to signify his acceptance of the candidature, performed an act of disinterestedness, which certainly no one in the country expected of him, by making himself ineligible according to the Constitution, since he could not at the same time appear with the symbolical white mantle of the candidate and the staff of the Magistrate; but he caused to be proclaimed instead the candidature of Dr. Manuel A. Sanclemente and José Manuel Marroquin for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, respectively; and these were elected.

Dr. Sanclemente was an old man of over eighty, whose years rendered him unable to reside in the capital of the republic; and from the moment that he was designated for the Presidency, it was evident that the government, sooner or later, must fall into the hands of Mr. Marroquin. And so it did. In the absence of Dr. Sanclemente, on the 7th of August, 1898, the Vice-President-elect took possession of the executive power. To the general surprise, Mr. Marroquin abandoned the Nationalist Party by which he had been elected, and declared himself an Historical. The Liberal Party applauded acts which gave evidence of the firm resolve on the part of the Vice-President to place the country on the footing of a just, honorable and moral régime that would have regard to the popular suffrage.

But such a state of affairs could not be agreeable to those who had struggled, by fair means and foul, to perpetuate their hold on power, and before four months of the government of Mr. Marroquin had elapsed, the aged President was conducted to the capital to serve the purpose of supporting and safeguarding the Nationalist Conservatives, who resumed the reins of Government, now more uncompromising than ever, since they had found themselves for several months dispossessed of what they had grown used to consider their property, the Treasury.

In the course of the few months of the year 1898 during which the executive power was in Mr. Marroquin's hands, laws were dictated which were demanded by public opinion, such as that relating to the public press, that reformatory of the Court of Auditors, that providing for the indemnification of those of the industrial class who had been injured, or might so be in the future, by the establishment of official monopolies; and,

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above all, there was secured the abrogation of the infamous law, vulgarly styled "the horse-law" *(ley de los caballos)*, which placed the liberty of the citizens at the mercy of the meanest village official. But what gave most satisfaction to the country at large, and inspired the most sanguine hopes, was that Mr. Marroquin declared, in public as well as in private, his inflexible purpose to enforce regard for the public suffrage and give access to all parties to the Electoral Councils, Courts and Juries.

Had Mr. Marroquin at that time refused to resign the Government into the hands of Dr. Sanclemente, as the majority of the House of Representatives and many conspicuous men of his party counselled him to do, then the Republic of Colombia would not have become what it is to-day, and what it has been for the last three years, an immense battle-field where the bones of thousands of its citizens lie bleaching in the sun, and where from smoking ruins there issues the haggard form of distress in the wretched garb of horror and dismay.

The civil war with which we are now afflicted is the consequence of that Nationalist reaction. The hopes that had been fostered by the Liberal Party once frustrated, the tempest could not be held back. The leaders of the party exhorted their partisans to peace; but their exhortations were powerless to inspire confidence in the bosom of the great mass of those who had suffered in their rights and in their property; and towards the end of October, 1899, the bloody struggle of arms began.

The writer of these lines was not in favor of the war, because he had then, as he has now, the full persuasion that that extreme resource solves no problem among our people, but rather renders more complex the problems which already exist, while giving rise to others from the quality of the men who present themselves as saviours or as valiant fighters. But in the face of the accomplished fact, which, to quote the language of Bismarck, removes every objection, the majority of the Liberal Party flew to arms, perchance in the belief that the Historicals would lend their co-operation to overthrow the structure of ignominy, and then with patriotic accord to seek a solution to all pending differences. Some Historicals declared themselves neutral; but the greater number hastened to seek the shade of the soiled and dishonored banner of the Nationalists,—thus

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showing that they had only been adversaries on the grounds of emoluments, and making good the definition that Dr. Carlos Martinez Silva had shortly before given of them: "An Historical," said he, "is a Nationalist out of office."

The war being in full sway, on the 31st of July, 1900, another revolution broke out, headed by Vice-President Marroquin and General Manuel Casabianca, Minister of War to the legitimate President, Dr. Sanclemente, which overthrew the latter with the support of the military garrisons and the people of the capital. Dr. Sanclemente was imprisoned, and his post filled by the chief of the revolutionary movement, who, on his own authority and on the strength of the mutiny, declared himself better entitled to it.

One of the reasons adduced for the justification of the movement was a desire to terminate the war, assuming it to have been directed against Dr. Sanclemente and not against the régime of which he was the representative. If the purpose had really been such a noble one, why did it not attain its end—the only defence of such an act on the score of morality?

Dr. Marroquin must render his account to the tribunal of History, should he have the good fortune to escape being brought to account by one nearer at hand, and a more rigorous one. In August, 1900, he was the arbiter of peace in the republic,—the Liberal Party holding him to be a man of worthy, upright and unblemished character. He might have prevented the sacrifice of the lives of more than forty thousand Colombian citizens—and on his conscience abides the indelible stain of that abominable crime. He might have saved from destruction more than half the wealth of Colombia, but he closed his eyes to the glare of light that shone out of those devouring tongues of flame and stopped his ears to shut out the clamor of lamentation of bereaved mothers, widows and orphans! This unfortunate man gathered around him a circle of madmen who seemed to be possessed of the brutal passions of Ahenobarbus, the incendiary of Rome; they made him, a revolutionary, to believe himself to be the representative of legitimacy, at a time when the legitimate President was a prisoner by his orders. And, finally, he seemed to forget that, to justify his disloyal conduct, he had said that it was not possible to end the war under the rule of Dr. Sanclemente, leaving the country to hope that he would terminate it himself.

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As a matter of fact, the war, after a short period of suspension for the purpose of learning what proposals Mr. Marroquin was prepared to make to the party in arms to end the conflict, continued with the redoubled intensity of despair. No proposition was made, nor was there a word spoken to invite to concord.

In the meanwhile, a vacuum was being formed around the Vice-President. With few exceptions his fervent partisans left him, seeing that it was impossible to govern in the face of a revolution every day more powerful, and a legitimate President imprisoned a few leagues from Bogota, but alive and resolutely determined not to legally resign his authority into the hands of his persecutor and jailer.

That disruption in the rank and file of the political forces that had realized the movement of the 31st of July, 1900, seemed to pass unnoticed by the person most interested in interpreting the signs of the time. The vacancies in the ranks were filled by ignorant men of bad precedents, so that men have been seen to attain to the offices of Ministers and Governors who were not capable of filling the post of Chief of Police in the meanest village. That group of incapable and ignorant men are they who rule Colombia to-day.

Such has been the course of Colombian politics in the last eighteen years, and the actual situation may be summarized as follows:

A government *de facto* rules the country by the power of its bayonets,—backed by no political party, for the Liberal Party opposes it by force of arms; the Nationalist Conservative Party repudiates it as the offspring of treachery; and the Historical Conservative Party, in a state of dissolution, is only composed of the public officers and the military chiefs for whom warfare is the most profitable of industries.

II.

The absolute Government established by the Constitution of 1886 and completed by subsequent laws, would have been in Colombia but a sorrowful and ridiculous experiment if the enactment of the same had not been contemporary with the disorder in the finances, and followed closely by the corruption which was diffused throughout the country by the new management.

The turbulent state of Colombian politics presented a brill-

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iant opportunity for the speedy acquirement of fortune to unscrupulous men, who unfortunately abound in all communities, by aiding the new institutions and enslaving their judgment and will, while submitting to the terms of servitude imposed by their master.

It became necessary, in order to frame and maintain this artificial opinion, to augment the budget to proportions never known before, and this led to an increase of existing taxes, the creation of new ones, and ultimately to the employment of the lamentable expedient of issuing notes of compulsory circulation backed only by the name and the scanty credit of the State. Official monopolies also were instituted. All measures were taken to raise funds with which to satisfy the ever-growing greed of those who surrounded and rendered aid to the Government.

The tributary system expressed in the Constitution of 1886 is undoubtedly superior to the preceding one which originated in the Constitution of 1863; as, according to the latter, the States, which appeared to be confederated on an equal footing, reserved to themselves the most important right of freely creating their sources of income and establishing their contributions, and only granting certain specific revenues—such as custom-house duties, post-office and telegraph taxes, and the proceeds of the National estates—to the Nation. The Constitution of 1886 converted the States into mere administrative departments with clearly defined privileges for their internal development and progress, depriving them at the same time of their right to create their revenues. The creation and collection of certain imposts were authorized by the Nation through laws to that effect, the Nation reserving to itself the right to establish others if it should be considered necessary and convenient. On the other hand, the departments, by means of legislative acts decreed by their respective Assemblies, had the right to authorize the Municipalities to establish and collect other contributions.

The tributary system was thus constituted in the country in the following manner: national taxes and contributions decreed by the Congress of the republic; departmental taxes and contributions decreed by the Assemblies, by virtue of legal authorization issued by Congress; and municipal taxes and contributions decreed by the Municipalities, by virtue of authorization of the laws of the Nation and of the ordinances of the Department.

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The principal sources of revenue of the Nation have been the custom-houses, the salt-mines, and the duties imposed on the slaughter-houses. These taxes and contributions have produced altogether an amount fluctuating between ten and twelve millions of dollars in national currency, up to the year 1897.

The total income of the public treasury has been from 1891 to 1895, as follows:

1891	$13,557,646
1892	12,465,513
1893	14,038,788
1894	13,273,592
1895	16,242,734

These revenues well managed and applied were more than sufficient to save from ruin a nation whose present population numbers not more than four million and a half; but nobody in the official regions ever occupied himself in employing these funds prudently and in introducing economy in the public service. On the contrary, *le mot d'ordre* seems to have been dissipation and malversation, and the disorder in the employment of the national funds became so notorious that, whilst in many places of the republic the wages of the judicial employees, for instance, were paid with punctuality or with a justifiable delay, the judges and magistrates of the Department of Panama were left without one cent on account of their monthly salaries for the space of two years.

The war budget, which in the administrations prior to 1886 never reached the amount of half a million of dollars yearly in time of peace, went on increasing until it aggregated the enormous sum of nine and a half million dollars (in round figures) in the two years' term of 1897-1898—say, more than one-third of the revenues, calculated at $28,224,000, for the same term.

While the War Department has been expending such a considerable portion of the revenues, other branches, like the external debt, have been completely obliterated from the budget, and the interests on said debt, which in years preceding 1886 were always considered as sacred engagements even in time of war, were entirely neglected. I consider it no exaggeration to assert that some have not been paid for over twenty years.

The internal debt, the proper study of which would require much labor, because of the diversity of the forms under which it has been contracted, has increased extraordinarily by claims for

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recognized services which have not been covered, supplies, loans and expropriations, and for military recompenses. That has been one of the means selected to give protection to the partisans of the government.

As I observed before, it was not possible to maintain this system with the ordinary revenue and it became necessary to have recourse to the emission of irredeemable paper money and the institution of monopolies. The estimated deficit of $1,312,016 for the period 1887-1888 increased to $3,435,498.70 in 1897-1898, being one-eighth of the revenues. Although the persistence of an ever-growing deficit in the budget of the country would demand the application of the proper remedy or rigorous economy from any statesman, in Colombia these means were not adopted, because the provoking lithographic machines were ever and ever ready to cover the deficiencies.

The terrible and inevitable consequence was not long in making itself felt, for the reason that the economic laws are not to be trifled with with impunity. The paper money of compulsory circulation suffered a depreciation; and, as its exchange value fell, the government found itself obliged to issue a larger quantity in order to obtain the same benefit previously obtained for a smaller quantity; for this new deficiency, it was forced to make a new issue, which caused the same disastrous effect; and this evil went on growing daily in alarming progression. On the other hand, as the taxes, rents and contributions were payable, according to tariffs established by law, in the depreciated paper, the intrinsic value of these revenues dwindled in the proportion of the rise in exchange. So that the proceeds of the rents should maintain the intrinsic value estimated in the budget, it would have been requisite to change the tariffs daily in order that they might be always in accordance with the fluctuations of the paper money.

The exchange which fluctuated ten points at the utmost when the system was established, began to vary a hundred points in 1899, and by the year 1900 the fluctuations were counted by the thousand points.

Commerce, all industries and even the very life of the Nation, were highly affected by this situation, as may be easily understood when it is known that one American dollar is equivalent to fifty dollars in Colombian notes. Private credit completely disappear-

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ed on account of these violent fluctuations, and as it was and is still prohibited to stipulate any other currency but the notes in private contracts, commerce had to choose between inaction and bankruptcy. But the foreign creditors will exact the payment of their credits in gold as soon as peace is restored, and when this happens there will be a frightful crash in the country of such lamentable consequences that the mere contemplation of it will cause the boldest to shudder.

Émile de Laveleye, the celebrated Belgian publicist, has said that an economic problem exists in the background of every political problem. Such a sentence seems to be confirmed in Colombia to-day. Is not the war that is devastating the country also a consequence of the deep-rooted evil which has stirred all classes, from the laborer and agriculturist to the capitalist and banker, without any party distinction? And this intense agitation, does it not arise from the economical disturbance produced by the paper money and by the abuses in its emission? Would the Liberal Party have gone to war if there had been sound money in the country, if the finances were scrupulously managed, and if the public wealth were not evaporating daily in the hands of speculators and people without a conscience?

Once the war is over, whatever be its result, then will the magnitude of the cataclysm be known.

It is not possible to state at this moment the number of millions of dollars in notes issued during the three years of civil war; but assuming the correctness of the estimate of a party who has been for some time a member of the present Government, the emission has been at the rate of eight millions monthly. This being the case, the total amount issued during the war amounts to nearly three hundred millions.

The crisis through which Colombia is passing at this moment is thus insignificant compared with that which threatens her. To avoid this crisis, a complete change of the *personnel,* of the ideas and of the purposes of the Government of the country is absolutely essential.

EUSEBIO A. MORALES.

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THE LAW OF PRIVACY.

BY ELBRIDGE L. ADAMS.

Has one the right to pass through this world, if he wills, without having his picture published, his business enterprises discussed, his successful experiments written up for the benefit of others, or his eccentricities commented upon either in handbills, circulars, catalogues, periodicals or newspapers? This was the interesting question which recently came before the New York Court of Appeals.

The decision, by a closely divided court, that, in the existing state of the law, there is no such right, as a legal and actionable right, has, curiously enough, received the disapproval of many newspapers, which, if a contrary conclusion had been reached, would be liable to some one for nearly every issue published. It has likewise excited some surprise in the minds of many persons who had thought that equity is nothing more nor less than the power possessed by judges, and even the duty resting upon them, to decide every case according to a high standard of morality and abstract right.

In view of the widespread interest which the case has attracted, it may be worth while to examine the grounds of the decision, and to discover, if may be, some remedy for what is undoubtedly a growing disregard for the rights of privacy.

The case before the Court of Appeals was this: A lithographic company had printed, and a milling company had circulated as an advertisement of its flour, some prints upon which appeared the likeness of a young woman, above which were the words "Flour of the Family," and below, the name and address of the milling company. A young woman claiming to be the original of the portrait brought suit against both the maker and user of the advertising matter, claiming that she had been greatly humiliated by the

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scoffs and jeers of persons who had recognized her face and picture on the advertisement, and that she had been made sick and had been put to the expense of employing a physician, by reason of which she had suffered damage. She prayed to be compensated in damages and for an injunction restraining the further circulation of the picture.

Her complaint contained none of the usual averments of an action for libel, namely, a malicious or false publication, and defamation of character or reputation; nor did it allege that the picture had been obtained through a breach of contract. The relief sought was grounded solely upon the proposition that the circulation of the advertisement, without the complainant's consent, constituted an invasion of her right of privacy.

In reaching the conclusion that her complaint stated no cause of action known to the law, the court observed:

"While most persons would much prefer to have a good likeness of themselves appear in a responsible periodical or leading newspaper rather than upon an advertising card or sheet, the doctrine which the courts are asked to create for this case would apply as well to the one publication as to the other; for the principle which a court of equity is asked to assert in support of a recovery in this action is, that the right of privacy exists and is enforcible in equity, and that the publication of that which purports to be the portrait of another person, even if obtained upon the street by an impertinent individual with a camera, will be restrained in equity on the ground that an individual has a right to prevent his features from becoming known to those outside of his circle of friends and acquaintances. If such a principle be incorporated into the body of the law through the instrumentality of a court of equity, the attempt logically to apply the principle will necessarily result not only in a vast amount of litigation, but in litigation bordering upon the absurd; for the right of privacy, once established as a legal doctrine, cannot be confined to the restraint of the publication of a likeness, but must necessarily embrace as well the publication of a word-picture, a comment upon one's looks, conduct, domestic relations or habits. And were the right of privacy once legally asserted, it would be necessarily held to include the same things if spoken instead of printed, for one, as well as the other, invades the right to be absolutely let alone. An insult would certainly be in violation of such a right, and with many persons would more seriously wound the feelings than would the publication of their picture. And so we might add to the list of things that are spoken and done day by day which seriously offend the sensibilities of good people to which the principle which the plaintiff seeks to have imbedded in the doctrine of the law would seem to apply."

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The court then proceeded to examine into the power of a court of equity to decide cases, not falling within any of the recognized principles of the law, according to natural justice.

In the formative period of Chancery jurisdiction in England, the judges, who were bishops and statesmen unlearned in the law, delivered their judgments without regard to principles or precedents. Every decision was, of necessity, an innovation to a greater or less extent upon the existing rules of the common law. These pioneers in the work of building up a new and less rigorous system of jurisprudence, appealed to, and were governed by, the eternal principles of absolute right, and were even guided in their judgments by their own individual consciences. It was this departure from certain rules and principles that provoked the sarcastic witticism of Selden in his "Table Talk":

> "Equity is a roguish thing. For law we have a measure and know what to trust to. Equity is according to the conscience of him that is chancellor; and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. 'Tis all one as if they should make his foot the standard for the measure we call a chancellor's foot. What an uncertain measure would this be! One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third, an indifferent foot. 'Tis the same thing with the chancellor's conscience."

After an orderly system of equitable principles, doctrines and rules began to be developed out of the increasing mass of precedents, this theory of a personal conscience was abandoned, and "the conscience came to be regarded, and has so continued to be regarded to the present day, as a metaphorical term, designating the common standard of civil right and expediency combined, based upon general principles and limited by established doctrines, by which the conduct and rights of suitors are tested." A court of equity, at the present time, cannot, therefore, by avowing that there is a wrong, but no remedy known to the law, create a remedy in violation of the law, or even without the authority of the law. It must act, not only upon established principles, but through established channels.

It has always been a principle of equity jurisprudence that obligations and corresponding rights which are purely moral do not come within the jurisdiction of the courts. The civil law is a business system dealing with tangible property and contractual rights, and does not undertake to redress psychological injuries. There are many matters of natural justice which cannot be en-

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forced in any court, either because of the difficulty of framing general rules to meet them, or from the doubtful policy of attempting to give legal sanction to duties of imperfect obligation, such as charity, gratitude, and kindness.

The Court of Appeals could not, therefore, without an assumption of jurisdiction unwarranted by the history of jurisprudence, take cognizance of a complaint which was based wholly upon an injury to the feelings. Nor was it able to find any precedent for a decision in accordance with the plaintiff's contention.

There have been several cases, both in England and in this country, in which the "right of privacy" has received attention from the courts. The earliest of these was the case of Prince Albert, consort of the late Queen Victoria, who, as a citizen of the realm, brought an action to restrain the exhibition of etchings which he and the Queen had made for their own amusement, but which, through the turpitude of a workman employed to strike off some copies for presentation to their friends, had come into the hands of a London art-dealer, who proposed to exhibit them and had published a descriptive catalogue of them. One of the grounds assigned for the injunction desired was the invasion of the Prince's privacy, but the decision of the court was based upon the infringement of his property rights in his own artistic creations, and also upon the breach of trust by the workman in retaining impressions of the etchings for himself.

In this country, the attempt to engraft the right of privacy upon the body of the law goes back to the year 1890. An article in "Scribner's Magazine" for July of that year, by the late Mr. E. L. Godkin, entitled "The Rights of a Citizen—to his Reputation," called attention to the growing license of the press, and particularly to its insidious invasion of the sanctity of private and domestic life, and suggested the need of some extension of the law of libel. Inspired by this suggestion, the "Harvard Law Review," later in the same year, gave prominence to a cleverly conceived and written article, in which it was sought to build up, upon the analogy of the cases involving literary property, the principle of an inviolate personality, or the right to be let alone. This essay in theoretical jurisprudence in turn suggested the celebrated case which arose in the courts of New York in 1892, and in which the family of Mrs. Schuyler, formerly Miss Mary M. Hamilton, and conspicuous in her life-time for her philanthropic

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work, attempted to prevent the exhibition at the Columbian Exposition of a statue of Mrs. Schuyler, intended to typify "Woman as a Philanthropist," alongside of a companion piece, a statue of Miss Susan B. Anthony, intended to represent "Woman as a Reformer." They asserted that the projected memorial was disagreeable and obnoxious to them, because it would have been so to Mrs. Schuyler, if living; and that it was annoying to have her memory associated with principles which Miss Anthony typified, and of which Mrs. Schuyler did not approve. They succeeded in the courts of original and intermediate appellate jurisdiction upon the theory advanced by the "Harvard Law Review" article; but the court of last resort denied their right to maintain the action, upon the ground that they, as relations, did not represent any right of privacy which Mrs. Schuyler possessed in her lifetime, and that whatever her right had been in that respect, it died with her. The court was also inclined to the view that the grievance was too trivial to excite any real mental distress or injury; but it carefully avoided any definite decision of the question whether there is such a legal right as the right of privacy.

The question next came up for adjudication in the Supreme Court of Michigan, which found no difficulty in deciding that a widow could not enjoin a manufacturer of cigars from using the name and portrait of her late husband, to designate a brand of cigars. The court said:

"Society may be depended upon to make proper allowances in such cases; and although each individual member may, in his own case, suffer a feeling of humiliation when his own name, or that of some beloved or respected friend, is thus used, he will, usually, in the case of another, regard it as a trifle. So long as such use does not amount to a libel, we are of the opinion that the individual would himself be remediless were he alive, and the same is true of his friends who survive. . . . This law of privacy seems to have gained a foothold at one time in the history of our jurisprudence—not by that name, it is true, but in effect. It is evidenced by the old maxim 'the greater the truth, the greater the libel'; and the result has been the emphatic expression of public disapproval, by the emancipation of the press and the establishment of freedom of speech, and the abolition, in most of the States, of the maxim quoted, by constitutional provisions. The limitation upon the exercise of these rights is the law of slander and libel, whereby the publication of an untruth that can be shown to be injurious, not alone to the feelings, but to the reputation, is actionable. Should it be thought that it is a hard rule that is applied in this case,

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it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that a ready remedy is to be found in legislation."

In another case, the widow of Corliss, the inventor, brought suit to restrain the publication of his biography and picture, upon the distinct ground that it was an invasion of her right of privacy. The court denied the relief sought, saying:

"Freedom of speech and of the press is secured by the Constitution of the United States and the Constitutions of most of the States. This constitutional privilege implies a right freely to utter and publish whatever the citizen may please, and to be protected from any responsibility for so doing, except so far as such publication, by reason of its blasphemy, obscenity, or scandalous character, may be a public offence, or by its falsehood or malice may injuriously affect the standing, reputation, or pecuniary interests of individuals. In other words, under our laws one can speak and publish what he desires, provided he commit no offence against public morals or private reputation."

The English court of appeals has lately affirmed, without a dissenting vote, a judgment which denied an injunction to a London physician, of whom it had been published, with substantial truth, but without authority, that he had been prescribing the defendant's patent gout cure, and using it himself with good results.

It will thus be seen that when the question, whether the so-called right of privacy exists as a part of the unwritten or common law of the land, came before the New York court of last resort, there were no well-established precedents pointing the way to the affirmative of that proposition, and the court was therefore confronted with the necessity of making new law, or turning the plaintiff out of court. In exercising the latter alternative, the court was careful to say that it did not mean to hold that in every case where a picture is circulated against the will of the original, he is without a remedy, even under the existing law. The Penal Code of New York, and of many other States, punishes a malicious publication, by picture, effigy or sign, which exposes a person to public contempt, ridicule or obloquy, as a libel.

"There are many articles, especially of medicine, whose character is such that using the picture of a person, particularly that of a woman, in connection with the advertisement of those articles, might justly be found by a jury to cast ridicule or obloquy on the person whose picture is thus published. The manner or posture in which the person is portrayed might readily have a like effect. In such cases, both a civil action and a criminal prosecution could be maintained."

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The court also pointed out—and this, we take it, is the conclusion of the whole matter—that the legislature might very well interfere and arbitrarily provide that no one shall be permitted, for his own selfish purposes, to use the picture or name of another for advertising purposes without his consent.

Here, then, we have judicial recognition of the necessity for positive legislation to meet a condition of modern society which is becoming intolerable; and, if we may interpret the comments of the newspaper press upon the decision, as faithfully reflecting public opinion, there is a widespread popular desire for relief. But relief will not be obtained if legislation is directed against advertisers alone; it must be broad enough to prevent journalistic, and even so-called literary, invasions of privacy.

The subject thus opened up is, we take it, really an extension of the law of libel. Modern society, goaded by the excesses of a sensational and scandal-loving press, has become sensitive. It is no longer satisfied with the reparation of its material wrongs—damage to reputation; it demands protection against spiritual wrongs —damage to feelings. This sentiment has already found expression in a statute enacted by the legislature of New York in 1900, which makes it a misdemeanor to publish any private letter, telegram or papers found on the person, or among the effects, of one who has committed suicide, or who has been found dead, with certain exceptions in the interest of the detection of crime.

In determining the scope and limitations of any legislation directed to the safe-guarding of the right to privacy, it will be well to avoid the extreme of sensitiveness exhibited by the French, who have had a law since 1868 which punishes the publication by a periodical of "any fact of private life." Under this law a man can have satisfaction if a newspaper print any gossip about him, even though it be harmless gossip.

The distinction between public and private characters must also be observed, difficult as it may be to draw the line. The idea which has been advanced by several judges, that, while a private character should be protected against the publication of his portrait, the case is different with a statesman, an author, an artist or an inventor, who asks for and desires public recognition, cannot be literally entertained. The right of privacy is not conditioned upon mediocrity. It would be more accurate to say that, when one seeks for and obtains public office, he must submit that so

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much of his history and life as bears on his fitness for the position, shall be made a matter of public record; or that, when one publishes a book or exhibits a picture to the judgment of the public, the public has a right to discuss and criticise his literary or artistic career. Certainly, a modest and retiring woman who has painted a picture which is hung on the line at the Academy, does not thereby dedicate her private life to the public.

It might well be that one should be deemed to have dedicated to the public the right to use his portrait, or to comment on his private life, by his own voluntary publication; just as one may dedicate an unpublished book or drama by printing it or allowing it to be produced without first obtaining a copyright.

It is apparent, upon the most casual examination of the subject, that it will be difficult to draw up an act which will not give rise to many inconsistencies. The attempt which was made three or four years ago in the New York legislature to pass what was known as the "anti-cartoon bill" failed, because the newspapers pointed out the numerous flaws in it. It was shown, for instance, that, while the bill would prevent a New York periodical from caricaturing a citizen of that State, it could not prevent Boston and Chicago papers from lampooning him as much as they chose.

The State of California, however, which is quite as progressive in the science of law-making as any State in the Union, has succeeded in getting upon its statute books a law which is designed to prevent the unauthorized publication both of portraits and caricatures. The law, which was enacted in 1899, as an extension of the law of criminal libel, may be reproduced here because of its novelty. It is as follows:

"It shall be unlawful to publish in any newspaper, handbill, poster, book, or serial publication, or supplement thereto, the portrait of any living person, a resident of California, other than that of a person holding a public office in this State, without the written consent of such person first had and obtained; provided, that it shall be lawful to publish the portrait of a person convicted of a crime. It shall likewise be unlawful to publish in any newspaper, handbill, poster, book or serial publication or supplement thereto, any caricature of any person residing in this State, which caricature will in any manner reflect upon the honor, integrity, manhood, virtue, reputation or business or political motives of the person so caricatured, or which tends to expose the person so caricatured to public hatred, ridicule or contempt.

"A violation of this section shall be a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five

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hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than one month nor more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"All persons concerned in said publication, either as owner or manager, editor or publisher, or engraver, are each liable for said publication. Actions for the violation of this section shall be tried in the county where such newspaper, handbill, poster, book or serial publication, or supplement is printed or has its publication office, or in the county where the person whose portrait or caricature is published resides at the time of the alleged publication."

The second section requires that every article, statement or editorial contained in any newspaper or other printed publication, published in California, which tends to blacken the memory of one who is dead, or to impeach the honesty, integrity, virtue or reputation, or to publish the natural or alleged defects, of one who is alive, and thereby expose him or her to public contempt, hatred, or ridicule, must be supplemented by the true name of the writer of such article, statement or editorial, signed or printed at the end thereof, subject to a penalty of one thousand dollars for each offence, to be recovered in a civil action.

A critical examination of this statute discloses several defects in it. In the first place, it is obvious that it will not, and probably was not designed to, afford protection against the publication of one's private and domestic affairs. It would not, for instance, prevent a newspaper from printing all the prurient details of a family scandal or a divorce suit.

The exception of persons holding public office should be broadened so as to include candidates for public office; and there should be a proviso that persons who have themselves voluntarily dedicated their features to the public by some act of publication are not within the protection of the act. It may well be doubted, too, if the phrase "which caricature will in any manner reflect upon . . . . the political motives of the person so caricatured," is not too vague to be effective.

With these exceptions, however, the act seems to be a fair attempt to remedy the evil aimed at, and will afford a good basis for enterprising legislators in other States to work on.

ELBRIDGE L. ADAMS.

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GRIEG AS A NATIONAL COMPOSER.

BY A. M. WERGELAND, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING.

RECENT criticism of the music of Grieg, while generally appreciative of his technical skill and lenient to his peculiarities, nevertheless plainly declares him to have fallen short of being a great musician—that is, one who treats themes of universal interest and whose ideas expand into the breadth of a symphony. The prevalence of the "national" element in his music is referred to as an instance of his limited lyrical and subjective temperament, which has seized upon the narrow field of folk-song and dance as a convenient and natural vehicle for personal peculiarities. Such misconception may arise from the point of view from which foreigners and theorists regard the peculiarly intimate element in Grieg's music. There is, perhaps, no great necessity for correcting it, since it must in course of time inevitably correct itself; but it is a curious sign of increasing scholasticism among critics, some of whom should know from personal experience what part the national element plays in the general development of all art, and not least in music. It may thus not be useless to attempt, for the benefit of the music-loving public, a more liberal, less dogmatic appreciation of the national element in Grieg's music, and possibly also to dispel some of the false conceptions and imperfect explanations which are so often associated with the work of a composer, and are allowed to grow and become a tradition without question as to their genuineness or likelihood.

That Grieg should be thus criticised is nothing wonderful. No doubt, when a composer becomes popular his days are, musically speaking, numbered. And Grieg has become popular; more, however, by virtue of his idiosyncrasies, his mannerisms, than

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by appreciation of the intrinsic value of his music. People play his pieces and gloat over them who do not understand their chief trait. This piano-playing age seizes upon anything that sounds enticing to the ear and brings out the qualities of the instrument; but what does this signify? Not by any means that the essence of the composition is always taken into account, assimilated or rendered. The outside features, the musical tricks, the phrasing, are the things grasped. By degrees, the peculiarities at first charming and even seductive become stale, and the hapless musician is reproached for possessing what was previously accounted his virtue. So it has happened to all the individual composers from Weber to Schumann—lately to Franz and Grieg; and so it will happen to all who are still the idols of the concert-room, Tschaikowsky, Dvořák and the rest. Nor is this their fault. They have all, each in turn, expressed in their individual way the conceptions prevailing in their time, and it is the fate of all things made by mortals that time, as it constantly moves on to the morrow, forgets what was of yesterday. Nor can it be made a matter of reproach that the artist has chosen for himself some small sphere of expression wherein he moves supreme. Not the rendering of the macrocosm, in its constantly increasing vastness and manifoldness, can be the aim of his art, but only the microcosm, the world within himself, his circle, his nation. To be rendered at all, the universe must still be moderate in size and limited in its comprehensiveness, as it was in Beethoven's days, a world full of human force which broke itself against the bars of destiny; or it must be the universe reduced to its metaphysical entity, as it exists in Brahms' learned and philosophical work.

The variety of methods of human expression in which the microcosm can be rendered has given rise to such rather artificial standards of judging a composition as whether it is universal or personal, objective or subjective, epic or lyric, or even didactic or divertive in tone. Letting these criteria stand for what they may, what is it that, irrespective of skill of workmanship, ease or learning, makes the lasting quality of a musical work and establishes the final judgment of its value? Is it not the predominance in it either of thought or of feeling—the exquisitely melodious quality, spontaneous, direct, lucid; or the weighty, discursive, sometimes even argumentative, utterance which by degrees builds up the final issue and presses the idea home? Be-

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tween these two poles—exclusiveness of thought on the one hand and expansiveness of emotion on the other; mountain-heights of pure vision and sheltered glades of sweet repose; the speculative quality, "*die verstandesthätigkeit,*" and the compassion charged with memory but remote from pain—all music of aspiration wavers; sometimes touching the one, sometimes both, sometimes remaining between. Although some would characterize the one as the more universal and objective, the other as the more individual and subjective expression, is it really worth while or even possible to say which is the best and the highest? Music, as the fluctuating expression of man's moods, can hardly be restricted to any formula or domain of utterance. This would be to deprive it of its greatest virtue, that of being responsive and sympathetic to all phases of life, to all shades of sentiment. In the end, does not our choice depend upon our individual disposition, and does not all music really begin, in its expression as well as in its appreciation, with the individual? If the artist pictures the elusive thing we call life, with its thousand mirages, or the majestic mountain-top, where the cool blue visions tell of immovable heights even more sublime, who shall say which is the more perfect?

It has been asserted, somewhat dogmatically, that Grieg's music has none of the objective value of the impersonal expression which characterizes the highest art, and that he is singularly individual, at most only national. But in their use of the word "national," his critics seem too narrow. Why always look upon the national as identical with the local? The national is not merely an expansion of the personal, it is likewise a step toward the universal; thus it unites both the objective and the subjective, the epic and the lyric. This distinction, however, often indulged in, between the individual and the universal, seems a mere play with words, sometimes only a question of change of opinion. No doubt, Mozart and Schubert, and Beethoven most of all, appeared distressingly subjective to their contemporaries; yet to us, whom by their individual rendering they have helped to reach a higher level of comprehension, they are universal. Such music as Scarlatti's and Bach's, because of its singleness of feeling, might be characterized as universal in the primitive sense of the word; and yet, although these men employed generally the same means and methods, they are not only

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in name but in individuality separate, in a sense that characterizes one as German, the other as Italian. All composers of note have either expressed some degree of national reaction against foreign influence, or have sought in their work to interpret some phase of the national temperament to the nation itself. Thus even Brahms, in spite of his cool heights of thought which might stamp him as universal to a peculiar degree, has found his chief glory in expressing not only national exaltation in the hour of grief and memory, but also the peculiar spiritual problems with which the superior minds of his nation wrestle to-day—the eternal riddle of a true and worthy life, the single-minded devotion to a noble idea, the sacrifice of success in order to tend the light of superior knowledge; problems which, as Brahms presents them, are more thoroughly German than they are or could be English, French, or American.

Whatever, then, the individual critic may consider the essential meaning of universal or national, it seems necessary to admit that the importance of a composer must, first of all, rest on the message he brings to his people. His natural relation is to them rather than to humanity at large, and his music becomes universal only through voicing their aspirations and character. His message to the world can have genuine force and vitality only as it is filtered through his message to his nation. In Europe nationality has for too long a time been a latent and potent force not to exert influence even over an art which, like music, may claim to have cosmopolitan tendencies.

We think that critics in their estimation of Grieg's music have often allowed themselves to be unduly influenced by his personal appearance, and measuring the one by the other have found both wanting in such strength as the normally developed is presumed to possess. That psychological reasoning which bases an estimate of mental worth on physical singularities, in which the French have of late shown themselves especially proficient, is too easy and too cheap a trick to deserve much comment. To give the accidental the force of an axiom has always been looked upon as both unphilosophical and unscientific. The utter tactlessness of the remarks showered upon Grieg—that he is a dwarf, that one shoulder is higher than the other, etc., as if this had anything to do with his efficiency as a musician!—inevitably lowers the tone of the criticism containing them.

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One critic, in speaking of Grieg's use of national music, calls such music a dialect rather than a language. The remark may, indeed, apply to the original random tunes and lays. But the artistic treatment of these national melodies, the elaboration of primitive harmonies and the use of them as *motifs* on which to build a structure of learned musical composition take away their original crudeness and abruptness without destroying their characteristics, and add these forgotten and secluded tunes to the great family of melodies with which the whole world may become familiar. Under such treatment, their limited exclusiveness exists no more, and a new chapter is added to the volume of human expression. Hence if a national composer becomes popular in a cosmopolitan sense, as Grieg has, this is due not merely to idiosyncrasies, but also to the good and legitimate reason that the message he brings is understood and appreciated by nations not akin to his.

Grieg's position toward his country is peculiar. Of course, other composers all over the world have made national music theirs, worked it over, drawn inspiration from it, feasted on its freshness of feeling, and embodied it in their works. Indeed, the national element concealed in modern music is much larger than people would at first be inclined to believe. Nay, upon examination the national element will show itself influential even in cases where the composer alone is credited with the invention of his melodies. But, however successful in their application of the national, none, from Weber to Tschaikowsky, has been so completely in sympathy with its nature, so obedient to its character, its form and color, as has Grieg. Many see in this a distinct limitation of his genius. Grieg ought to have done as his brethren did, they think. He should have treated the national material as a makeshift, as an interpolation or ornament. But this has not been natural to him to do, and the result seems to justify his attitude. What the possession of a national music such as his means to a people, the value of its stimulating and unifying power, Americans, who do not as yet possess any, cannot quite understand. It is the same with the man who does not know what fatherhood is until he himself has a child. While the music which claims to be universal expresses often the merest generalities, is vague, indefinite and theoretical—"attenuated cosmopolitanism," as Carlyle puts it—national music is strong, di-

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rect, alive in every fibre. It is of enormous educational influence to the people, bringing the ideas all have in common home to their mind and heart, with the strength of what is home-grown and truly lived.

Of all the Norwegian composers of national music, none has touched, as Grieg has, the spring of the idiomatically national. The mountain fairy of whom Norwegian folk-lore tells, the mysterious spirit of the voices of the forest and the silence of the glens, the golden-haired and blue-eyed maiden, Muse of the peasants and inspirer of their lays, she who appears in the solitude and plays the "*langelek*" and "*lur*," of whom the poets have sung eloquently but abstractly,—she revealed herself at last in all her eerie power, when Grieg took these "boorish" tunes and lent them a voice that could reach farther than the faint vibration and whispering of her fantastic cithern. Thus Norwegian peasant-music has reached a development which it could not otherwise get, has become what it now is—bizarre, often morbid, sometimes boisterously gay, full of wild grace, taunting and jeering, yet plaintive and brooding; always singular, forceful and brilliant. Norwegians did not realize what possibilities were in them or their songs until Grieg put his hand to the elaboration of these tunes.

When I here apply the word "national" to the Norwegian peasant-music as it originally existed, I ought perhaps to do so with a certain reservation. It may be that there is no such thing as strictly national music; nothing in its beginning is quite home-grown, everything is somehow transmitted from elsewhere and then assimilated. In fact, several of the Norwegian folk-tunes, for instance, in their beautiful sensitiveness suggest strongly both Haydn and Bach, or even remoter sources. In the same way, the Swedish "polska" in its vivacity, mocking charm and martial clamor forcibly reminds one of Slavic folk-tunes. But whatever was the musical germ of these songs and dances, they have been so thoroughly recast according to the popular temperament that to-day they are Norwegian; and by Grieg's working of them into the mould of more universal tendencies, they are also in the broadest sense national.

Nor is it only the national in its ethnological meaning, but also the background of national feeling, of patriotism, the historical past recorded in song and tale which have been voiced by

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Grieg as they have never been voiced before and perhaps never will be again. It is necessary only to remember Sonata, Opus 7, with the meditative, almost religious, Andante, the majestic Menuetto and the fiery Finale, which maintains its proud bearing to the end and closes with strains of highest enthusiasm and assurance. When one compares the Menuetto with compositions of romantic and patriotic tenor, such as Chopin's Polonaise No. 7, Opus 53, one meets with the same reference to a heroic past. In Chopin's Polonaise, we have history brilliant and exhilarated by blares of trumpets, by beauty and valor, by the glamor of a great gathering, by the tramp of horses and the flash of swords, until, by a subtle change of mood, it all sinks into dust and the night-wind moans gently over forgotten graves. Grieg's Menuetto suggests no sense of bereavement, but a continuous and proud presence of the fairest and noblest of the land, crowned with strength and beauty—a throng of knights and dames, lords and ladies, the throne in the background, and the standards of many battles and adventures waving in the summer-breeze, while the torches glow and the music, now majestic, urging to deed, now gentle, persuading to pleasure, puts the crowd in motion responsive to its rhythm. If to this we add Grieg's music to Björnson's poems and dramas, which are epic if anything, his compositions for choruses and orchestra in which he has lent the poetic words a wonderful, soul-speaking power, his witty rendering of portions of "Peer Gynt" and his "Holberg Suite," we find he has expressed for his nation its greatest good of all: the feeling of its historical integrity and its oneness with the land that bore it. Such beautiful patriotism, never maudlin or chauvinistic, frank, earnestly devoted with a son's devotion, will suggest that he sank his own individuality in the larger unit, rather than that he made the national subservient to himself.

It is, perhaps, not altogether wrong to say that the bane of Grieg's highest work has been his settling for good in his villa by Bergen and secluding himself from the vigorous life elsewhere. Certainly, if one knows the temperamental likeness between himself and Mozart, whose ethereal and unworldly height of beauty and feeling he renders as no one else does, and his strong musical leanings toward Schumann, it is clear that not all he has had to say is embodied in the national. He has wished to express other things, which with unimpaired health, a different

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environment, and greater means, he might perhaps triumphantly have said. Possibly, as has been declared, Grieg has not developed into the most powerful expression, into grappling with cosmic problems and solving them in symphonies. Yet the time-honored custom of considering a composer of but middling worth until he has foisted his aspiration to immortality upon the world in the shape of a symphony, is about as fallacious as the eighteenth-century theory that whoever had not written an opera was really no musician of note. It reminds one of the English literary notion that a poet who has not written a drama, however lame dramatically, is no great poet. Grieg has struck the pole of feeling rather than the pole of thought. And within the sphere of national feeling, at least, he has surely combined the opposite elements, voicing the epic and objective as well as the lyric and subjective. In fact, the two are in him so curiously blended that, contrary to current opinion, through Grieg's music it is the nation which speaks its innermost thoughts as much as Grieg himself. We agree that he has been more of an artist in his production than a philosopher. Hence, according to the demands of some æsthetic rigorists, he has failed to reach the very highest rank. But a composer is not made up according to a pattern, a universal pattern; he is made according to something which it is in his nature to become. Grieg with his opportunities and endowment appears to have made the most of both, to have expressed what he found most worth expressing with such surpassing beauty and oneness of feeling that the nation for which he did this owes his work an infinite debt of affection and esteem.

A. M. WERGELAND.

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SANITARY PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

BY GEO. M. STERNBERG, M.D. LL.D., SURGEON-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED.

Now that it has been definitely decided that the United States will construct an interoceanic ship-canal across the isthmus, it is well to give careful consideration to all the problems connected with this stupendous undertaking.

The engineering problems have been fully considered, and we have the assurance that a canal can be constructed, either by the Nicaragua or the Panama route.

It now seems almost certain that the United States will secure a satisfactory title to the property and concessions of the Panama Canal Company, and that the canal will be constructed upon this line. The financial problem is solved by the fact that the United States Government is fully committed to the undertaking, and whether the estimates submitted to Congress are adequate or otherwise, the final result is assured. A hundred millions, more or less, for a country which is spending from eight hundred millions to a billion dollars, annually, is a small matter, when we consider the magnitude of the enterprise, and the important advantages to the United States and to the world which will result from the completion of this interoceanic water-way.

But, while this is true, it is also true that, aside from the question of cost, the difficulties attending the enterprise and the time required to accomplish the task will depend largely upon conditions of a different order, which are too frequently ignored by engineers and financiers.

I have not the data at hand to enable me to state how many laborers and officials lost their lives during the progress of the work on the Panama Canal, but it is generally known that the

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number was enormous, and that the insanitary conditions along the line of the canal, and the consequent sickness and mortality among the employees of the Canal Company, constituted one of the most serious difficulties with which this company had to contend.

The object of the present paper is to indicate how these difficulties may be avoided in future, and to impress upon those who will have charge of the work the fact that, in the present state of sanitary science, it would not only be costly, but criminal, to repeat the experiences of the past in this regard. From a humanitarian point of view, it will readily be conceded that an unnecessary sacrifice of the lives of those who are employed to do the work of excavating the canal, would be unjustifiable; but it is not to be expected that an undertaking of this kind will be postponed or delayed on account of the possibility that large numbers of human lives may be sacrificed in carrying out plans which have been made by expert engineers, and approved by the Congress of the United States.

The laborers and those who superintend their work will be very much in the position of soldiers who are sent to a distant and unhealthy country to promote the interests of their Government. They go without question or complaint; and if they fall victims to some infectious disease or to the bullet of the enemy, their places are promptly filled by others who willingly submit themselves to the same chances. But it is evident that, aside from the humanitarian point of view, the better they are trained for the service required of them—whether soldiers or laborers—the more difficult it will be to replace them, and the greater the financial loss when they are prevented by sickness from performing the special duties required of them. A Jamaica negro, who is employed simply to handle a pick or a shovel, may be easily replaced; but when an engineer who has charge of a steam shovel falls sick, the expensive apparatus which he has been trained to control may lie idle.

As great engineering enterprises now depend largely upon the employment of skilled labor, it is evident that the preservation of the health of these laborers is an economic question of prime importance. From our point of view, it is so important that it is incumbent upon the government which undertakes to construct an isthmian canal to give to those who will be engaged in the

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actual prosecution of the work all the advantages to be derived from a well-organized sanitary service, based upon the present state of scientific information relating to the cause and prevention of those infectious diseases which are most likely to prevail under the conditions which will exist along the line of the proposed canal. We know what these diseases are; we know the conditions which lead to their epidemic prevalence; and we know how to prevent them. Under these circumstances, it would indeed be criminal not to apply this knowledge in a practical way for the preservation of the lives of those who are called upon to battle with those malign agents which appear to oppose themselves to man, in his efforts to overcome the barriers raised by nature to arrest his progress in the subjection of the earth to his material uses. In this battle the soldier of labor is supported by enormous and complicated engines of war, operated by steam, by electricity, or by explosives which rend the solid rock.

But when these are in position and the tearing down of a mountain has been fairly commenced, all his efforts may be paralyzed, and his steam shovels and diamond drills compelled to remain idle, because of the attacks of an unseen foe, such as the bacillus of typhoid fever, the parasite of malarial fever, or the unrecognized germ of yellow fever.

The laborers upon the isthmian canal will be exposed to the ravages of all these infectious diseases; and it may be confidently asserted that each one of them will claim numerous victims, unless the proper measures of protection are enforced. It is well known that the prevalence of typhoid fever depends, to a large extent, upon the quality of the water supply, and that, when there is any possibility that this may be contaminated, the simple and obvious method of prevention is to sterilize all drinking-water. This is best accomplished by heat; but it is not sufficient to give directions that all water used for drinking must be boiled. There must be some one to see that a sufficient supply of sterilized water, properly cooled, is always available, and that none other is used. We cannot depend upon precept alone, when it is a question of protecting soldiers or laborers from the invisible foes which surround them. They are accustomed to judging of the purity of water by its taste and appearance, and to drinking any water at hand when they are thirsty.

The question of water supply must therefore not be left to indi-

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vidual judgment. No doubt, it will usually be practicable to bring an ample supply of pure water in pipes, from springs or mountain streams, to the places along the line of the canal where it is needed, and this will be best and cheapest in the long run. But it will not do to trust to sub-contractors to do this, or to carry out other necessary sanitary measures. It should be one of the principal functions of the general sanitary service, under government control, to provide a pure water supply for the entire line of the canal, and it should be expected that considerable sums of money will be required for this important work. A pure water supply should be insured before laborers are sent to any particular section of the line to commence work; and, at the same time, provision should be made for the safe disposition of human excreta, either by sewers, cremation or burial in deep pits properly located and systematically disinfected. The disastrous effects of a failure to do this are illustrated by the prevalence of typhoid fever in nearly all of our improvised camps during the earlier months of the Spanish-American war.

I had pointed out in a circular dated April 25th, 1898, the dangers to be apprehended and the proper means of prevention; but the officers and enlisted men of our hastily assembled volunteer army paid little attention to these admonitions, and the Surgeon-General of the army has no power for the enforcement of sanitary regulations. If we are again called upon to assemble hastily a large array of undisciplined troops, we may expect a repetition of our unfortunate experiences, unless we provide in advance for suitable camping grounds, supplied with an abundance of pure water, and with necessary facilities for the prompt and safe disposal of excreta.

In my paper on "Sanitary Lessons of the War," read at the meeting of the American Medical Association at Columbus, Ohio, June 6th, 1899, I called attention to this matter, and insisted upon the importance of providing such camping grounds in which to assemble our troops, in case another similar emergency should arise. In this paper I said:

"Want of discipline and experience on the part of officers and enlisted men, together with the apparent emergency which caused them to be brought together in large camps in great haste, and before proper preparation could be made for their reception and the supply of their many wants, were the fundamental and, to a large extent, unavoidable

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causes of the extension of typhoid fever in our camps. But the first step in the development of an epidemic of an infectious disease is the introduction of the specific germ to which it is due. Unfortunately, typhoid fever is endemic in nearly all parts of the United States; and, when a thousand men are brought together from any section, there is a fair chance that one or more of them are already infected with this disease. Unless these cases are recognized at the very outset the camp site is liable to be contaminated by typhoid excreta, and the bacilli, through the agency of flies, or in a desiccated condition carried by the wind, effect a lodgement upon food being prepared in the company kitchens, and thus find their way to the alimentary tract of susceptible individuals.

"The attention of the profession has been largely attracted to the propagation of this disease through contamination of the water supply and to the distribution of typhoid bacilli by the milkman, and there has perhaps been a tendency to overlook other modes of infection, which, in the absence of sewers and under conditions such as existed in our camps during the first months of the war with Spain, were even more important. It is evident that one or two unrecognized cases might be sufficient to inaugurate an epidemic in a regimental camp which has been occupied for a period of a month or more. In many cases, it was brought to our large camps from the State camps where the regiments were mustered into service. . . .

"The value of the aphorism, 'In time of peace prepare for war,' has received additional support. This preparation should include a corps of trained medical officers larger than is absolutely necessary for the army on a peace basis, and systematic instruction in military medicine and hygiene for the medical officers of the National Guard, as well as for those of the Regular Army; also instruction of line-officers in the elements of hygiene, and especially in camp sanitation. It should also include the establishment of camping grounds in various parts of the country, having an ample supply of pure water, a proper system of sewers, etc. If our volunteers could have been assembled in such camps during the late war, a saving in lives and money would have resulted, which would, without doubt, have demonstrated the economy of such a preparation for war in time of peace."

The conditions under which laborers must live, while engaged in the work of excavating an isthmian canal, are in many respects similar to those under which our soldiers were assembled in camps of instruction during the Spanish-American war, with the added dangers due to a tropical environment. If questions relating to water supply and sewerage are postponed until after the laborers are assembled in the localities where the work is to be done, defilement of the camp site and contamination of the local water supplies will almost certainly occur. The ignorance and reckless-

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ness with reference to sanitary matters of the average soldier, sailor and laborer have been demonstrated by sad experience; and the inexorable laws of nature will inevitably cause the same disastrous results in the future as in the past, unless we take advantage of the light shed by science upon the cause and prevention of those fatal epidemic diseases which during past centuries have scourged the human race. To ignore the teachings of sanitary science, at the outset of the twentieth century, would be both criminal and disgraceful. In tropical and semi-tropical regions, neglect of sanitary police and contamination of the water supply are the common causes of other infectious maladies which may even exceed typhoid fever in the numbers of their victims. Among these we may mention especially tropical dysentery, chronic diarrhœa, and the disorders due to various intestinal parasites. This whole group of diseases may be avoided if no food or drink is taken which contains the germs or ova which give rise to them.

But how about the so-called "climatic diseases"? Can these be avoided? Certainly they can; for, as a matter of fact, no infectious diseases are directly due to climatic influences, although climate has much to do with the prevalence of some of these diseases when the germs to which they are due are introduced to a given locality. Thus malarial fever and yellow fever prevail only where climatic conditions are favorable for the propagation of the species of mosquitoes by which the parasites to which these diseases are due are transmitted from man to man. Mosquitoes cannot multiply unless they can find water in which to deposit their eggs, and in which their larvæ can thrive. They lose their activity and soon die when exposed to a temperature below the freezing point. Therefore, malarial fever and yellow fever are diseases of tropical and semi-tropical regions, or of the summer months in the temperate zone; and they do not prevail in elevated and arid regions, even in the tropics.

I shall not attempt in this paper to present the evidence which justifies the assertion that malarial fever and yellow fever are contracted through "bites" of mosquitoes. The scientific demonstration that this is a fact is complete, and is accepted by well-informed physicians in all parts of the world. This knowledge has been gained so recently, however, that the public, generally, and many men of science whose studies have been in other

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fields of investigation, are not fully convinced that their preconceived notions with reference to the etiology of these diseases are wrong. I may say to these persons, in brief, that we know the malarial parasite, which differs somewhat in different types of malarial fever, as well as the ornithologist knows his birds, or the farmer different kinds of grain which he sows. We know the different stages of its development in man and in the bodies of infected mosquitoes; we recognize it in the blood of patients, and unhesitatingly found our diagnosis upon the result of a microscopical examination of such blood. Finally, it has been proved that persons may remain indefinitely in the most intensely malarious regions, such as the Roman Campagna, without contracting malarial fever, if they are protected from the bites of mosquitoes by gauze mosquito-netting. The climate of itself is not only harmless, but salubrious. We may safely say the same of the climate of the Isthmus of Panama. If we can protect the laborers on the isthmian canal from the bites of mosquitoes, they will enjoy an entire immunity from the deadly infectious maladies which have been the scourge of the coast regions of the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and the West Indies for centuries.

But how is this to be accomplished? A man cannot work under a mosquito bar. No; but he can sleep under one, and he should be compelled to do so when his health is a matter of prime importance to his employer. It has long been known that "exposure to the night air" in malarious regions is especially dangerous, and now we know the reason. Mosquitoes seek their food mostly at night; and man, when not protected by a mosquito bar, is especially exposed to their attacks while he is asleep. That sleeping under a mosquito bar affords a certain amount of protection from attacks of malarial fever, has been repeatedly reported by travellers in tropical regions, but the explanation of this alleged fact is of recent date.

We have recent evidence that a properly conducted war upon the mosquito, and especially upon its breeding places, may lead to notable results in diminishing the numbers of the pestiferous insect. Witness the success obtained by Major Gorgas, Surgeon, U. S. A., during the summer of 1901, in restricting the prevalence of yellow fever in Havana, by making war upon the mosquito, which has been proved by Major Reed and his associates to be the active agent in transmitting this disease from man to man. As

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another instance of what may be accomplished by intelligent efforts and a reasonable amount of money, I call attention to the work done by Mr. Henry Clay Weeks on Centre Island and its vicinity.*

It has long been known that excavating the soil in so-called "malarious regions" is very likely to be followed by a serious outbreak of malarial fever, or sometimes of yellow fever. This we can now understand. Such excavations lead to the formation of pools of rain-water, which afford the best possible breeding places for mosquitoes. As pointed out by Mr. Weeks, the two principal methods of fighting mosquitoes out-of-doors consist in drainage and the use of petroleum. All pools of standing water are to be done away with by drainage, if possible. If not, the surface is to be covered by a film of petroleum, which quickly destroys the larvæ of the mosquito when they come to the surface to breathe, which is necessary for their existence. What has been undertaken in a small way on Centre Island should be carried out, with all the energy and resources that money and competent supervision can command, along the line of the isthmian canal. Let us remember that we are undertaking this great work at the beginning of the twentieth century, and that the means of preserving the health of those employed are as important for the success of the enterprise as the perfection of the steam ploughs and diamond-pointed drills which will be used.

In the army, we have a well-trained medical corps, every member of which realizes that the preservation of the health of our soldiers is a more important matter, even, than the treatment of the sick and wounded. To aid in this work, we have a body of trained enlisted men—the Hospital Corps—equal to about four per cent. of the enlisted strength of the army. The army of laborers which will be sent to the isthmus will require a sanitary corps having a personnel at least as great in proportion to the number employed as is provided for our army in the Philippines. At the head of this sanitary service, we should have a man fully informed as to the sanitary problems which are to be encountered and the best methods of meeting them, and also of demonstrated executive ability. Under him should be sanitary engineers, expert sanitary inspectors, and a corps of intelligent men employed especially for the sanitary service. He should be given the neces-

* See the *Century Magazine* for July, 1902, p. 424.

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sary money and autocratic power for the execution of sanitary measures for the protection of the health of the employees engaged in the construction of the canal. He should also have general direction of the medical service, including the establishment of hospitals at properly located points, the purchase of medical supplies, etc. He should select the medical staff for service at these hospitals and at the various camps or stations where the work is in progress. The physicians at these stations should be required to make frequent inspections of the employees, for the purpose of placing upon sick-report or in hospital any man who has fever or dysentery, or any other symptom indicating that he is unfit to work. Rest, suitable diet, and proper medication will often restore such persons to perfect health in a short time. But if left to their own devices, soldiers and laborers often fail to report for treatment in the early stages of a serious malady, when treatment would be most efficacious, and not only endanger their own chances of recovery, but, in the case of certain infectious diseases, place their comrades in danger.

It is in this way that epidemics often have their origin. Mild and unrecognized cases of typhoid fever, of yellow fever, or of cholera are more dangerous, from a sanitary point of view, than severe and fatal cases which are promptly recognized and properly cared for. Careful sanitary supervision is therefore essential; it is, moreover, economical in the interest of the canal and of the government which has undertaken to construct it, as well as of those who are engaged in the actual work of excavation.

In the army, for military reasons, the medical department is not given any direct authority for the execution of sanitary measures outside of the general and post hospitals, which are under the direct command of medical officers. The commanding officer of a camp or of a military post is responsible for the execution of necessary measures which may be recommended by the Surgeon-General of the army, or by the surgeon of his command, or which may be required by army regulations and general orders from the War Department. In carrying out these sanitary measures the medical department has only an advisory function. An officer of the line, or of the engineer corps, or of the Quartermaster's department, is detailed, with enlisted men or civilian employees to assist him, to dig the sewer, or lay the water pipes, or drain the swamp, etc.; and the general sanitary police of the post or

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camp is maintained by a detail of enlisted men, or by a squad of general prisoners under the direction of a "police sergeant," or in some cases by civilian employees engaged for this special service. Whether this method is best for the army has been seriously questioned; and it is contended by some medical officers that better results would be obtained if more authority were given to the medical officers, and they were made responsible for the carrying out of necessary sanitary measures, and not simply for making suitable recommendations. However this may be, there can be no question that the sanitary service on the line of the isthmian canal should be under one head, and that the carrying out of measures for the prevention of disease and the care of the sick should be placed in the hands of a competent "medical director," having an efficient staff and full power to act in accordance with his best judgment for the accomplishment of the desired results.

The cost of such a sanitary service would not be inconsiderable, but it would not be great when considered in connection with the magnitude and importance of the work; and I do not hesitate to affirm that, from an economic point of view, such a sanitary service as I have indicated would greatly reduce the cost of constructing the canal, and would shorten the time required for its completion.

A single epidemic of yellow fever occurring among the employees along the line of the canal, at a time when the work was being actively prosecuted, would, without doubt, be more expensive than the cost of an efficient sanitary service during the entire period of construction.

GEO. M. STERNBERG.

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THE NAVY'S GREATEST NEED.

BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER ROY C. SMITH, U. S. N., GOLD-MEDAL-LIST, U. S. NAVAL INSTITUTE.

FOR some reason the navy's most pressing need at this moment is scarcely known to the people. It may be worth while to inquire how this may be the case. To make a clear presentation, certain premises will have to be assumed as a starting point. The first one is, that the people are interested in the navy, believing that it is essential to our national welfare, and that, while they do not advocate that it shall be stronger than that of any other nation, still they are of the opinion that it should be of adequate strength, up to date in its construction, and efficient. Another premise is that they believe that all necessary steps have been, or are being, taken to bring about in course of time a result that shall be satisfactory from the view-point of the earlier premise.

Now, these two premises may not be universally accepted. There are, of course, people who will deny either, or both. But it is necessary to have some groundwork to build on, and it is the belief of the writer that the premises express with sufficient accuracy the ideas of the mass of the people. The first is in reality almost self-evident, and needs scarcely more than a statement to ensure its acceptance. The interest in the navy has always been apparent, but especially so since the Spanish war, in which its preparedness and success seemed to commend it to the people. As to its being essential to the national welfare, there can be no doubt. Very few people desire war, but they want to be ready for it, if it has to come; and the mere fact of being ready for it will often prevent it. Moreover, the navy will have to bear the brunt of the next war. The army would come in for first place only in the event of operations against Canada or Mexico, both remote possibilities; whereas in any other conflict the navy would

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necessarily be the main reliance. Of course, the term "adequate strength" is a little elastic; but it does not imply, for instance, that this country may some day have to struggle against any Power or combination of Powers for its very existence as a nation, which is the theory underlying the naval strength of Great Britain, a nation dependent even for its food supplies on other countries. Adequate strength with us would mean a power sufficient to uphold our treaty rights and maintain the Monroe Doctrine if necessary. This doctrine, by the way, gives us no definite rights; it is nothing more than a declaration of our intentions; and the weight it carries abroad is in exact proportion to our apparent ability to uphold it. As to the material of the navy, naturally the people will not be satisfied with anything short of the best in ships, guns, machinery, and armor. It has been a maxim with us since our earliest naval history to produce ships which, class for class, shall be just a little more powerful than those of a possible enemy. And the efficiency of these ships, once built, will depend on the skill, courage, discipline, and training of the crews, qualities in which American crews have never been deficient.

The evidences to justify the second premise are manifold. In nineteen years a modern steel navy has been erected out of actually nothing. Prior to 1883, ships, guns, and armor of the present type could not be built or manufactured in this country. Now the navy comprises nearly every possible type of construction; and, owing to a widespread interest and a strong national feeling, nearly every session of Congress sees the addition of several vessels of types suitable to round out the total aggregate of naval strength. The vessels as authorized are in course of time launched, with a fair sponsor, and are eventually commissioned; they are presented with a piece of bronze, or a library, or a silver service, by the cities or States after which they are named, and they then take their place in the fleet and begin a conscientious training of their crews, winter and summer, to the end that every quality of structure, armament, and machinery shall be capable of its highest efficiency. The press keeps the people informed of the movements of the fleet and prints full accounts of target practice and manoeuvers, with the general result that almost everybody knows something about the navy, where the ships are, and how we rank with reference to other Powers.

Hence, up to this point, everything seems as satisfactory as

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possible. There is, however, something that has not been considered at all; and it is as important as, or more important than, all that has been mentioned. This is a curious state of affairs, and yet, too, it is capable of explanation, in a way. There is something in the word "navy" that is partly responsible for it. The first idea, and often the only idea, suggested by that word is of an aggregation of ships, usually under way, with smoke issuing, with guns and turrets prominent, and small vessels and torpedo-boats cruising in and out among the battle-ships. Now to establish a comparison, consider the word "army." At once there comes into the mind a picture of men and horses, with accompaniments of waving plumes and bright trappings, rifles, bayonets and artillery. Perhaps a battle presents itself, with all this mass in action. In either event, the prominent idea is that of living beings. In regard to the navy, as we saw, the idea is that of ships. The ships, however, without living beings to direct and control them, would be of no more use than stacked rifles and parked artillery. The navy, then, needs men, as well as ships, a fact which most people probably scarcely ever think of, or if they do think of it, they suppose the officers and men are provided in some way as need is found for their services. But this is not the case; there can be no crews for the new ships unless something is done to provide them; and here is the most crying need of the navy at the present moment, one in comparison with which the question whether we authorize three or six ships, or none at all, at any session of Congress is now actually insignificant, a question too of the very greatest concern to everybody, and one less likely to be fully considered from the very fact that the need is so little known.

These statements perhaps seem exaggerated. They are not so in reality. They are no stronger than the facts of the case warrant. They are borne out by the simplest kind of figuring. To state the case briefly, before giving the details, the number of officers and men in the navy is limited by law. While the tonnage of the navy has doubled and trebled, the number of sea-going officers has not been increased at all, and that of the enlisted men only to a limited extent. Each session of Congress, as a rule, sees an increase in the tonnage: the increases in the men have come at rare intervals and on strong presentation by the Navy Department; whereas there has been no increase of officers.

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Nominally, the personnel act of 1899 made a slight increase, but the vacancies thus created, owing to a lack of graduates, have never been filled. To give an illustration from commercial life, suppose that a line of ocean steamers has ten vessels in its service, all suitably manned, and that it gradually increases its fleet to thirty vessels; but that, from some cause not entirely clear, as each new steamer is added, its officers and men are drawn from the older ships without any increase of the total number. How far could this method be pursued, and would the passengers be satisfied with the results? Naturally, there must be some sort of logical relation between tonnage and men, in the navy as in the merchant service. An effort will be made to find this relation, and to suggest a ready means of putting it in effect.

The case of the enlisted men will be considered first. To do this, it is not necessary to resort to a mass of figures. The significant fact is that with the present enlisted force the ships already finished cannot all be commissioned. When a new ship is ready for her crew, one or more of the older ships must be laid up. The report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation for last year (1901) contains a very temperate and convincing statement of the needs of the navy at that time. It showed that, at a low estimate, an increase of 3,000 men was needed for that year. These men were provided for at the session of Congress just ended. They bring up the total of authorized enlisted men and boys to 28,000. Now, this estimate is very low. It was only thought to be temporarily adequate because it was expected that a number of ships would be out of commission or laid up for repairs. But in order to be perfectly conservative and to avoid any possible exaggeration, this number will be assumed as expressing the proper relation of men to tons of shipping then completed. An examination of the Navy Register for January 1, 1902, shows that the total completed tonnage of the navy was at that time 481,967 tons. Now, bearing in mind that the allowance of men was assumed for the vessels then in serviceable condition, it will be seen that by taking the total tonnage, none excepted, the ratio to be arrived at will be at the lowest admissible figure. The above figures, that is 28,000 men and 481,967 tons, give a ratio in round numbers of 60 men per 1,000 tons of shipping. This then will be taken as the logical ratio of men to tons. If the legal authorized strength falls below this ratio, then a great risk is

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being assumed, and also the people of the country are being unfairly treated. As has been stated, they believe that all needed steps are being taken to make the navy efficient; and should they find it deficient in men, they will have a right to feel that their interests have not been properly cared for.

In the above argument it has been assumed that, having the ships, and authority to enlist the men, all that will be needed will be simply to enlist them. This is only partially true. Plenty of men may be enlisted, but not always of the sort needed. The available sea-faring population of the country is in no way equal to supplying the demand for naval recruits. It was so equal at one time, but with the decline of shipping and the added circumstance that a merchant sailor is almost as ignorant aboard a battle-ship as a landsman, it is easily seen that some other source of supply must be drawn on to fill out the quotas. There are two such sources, the youth of the country, who may enter the navy as apprentices and undergo training during minority, and the young men of the country, especially those from the interior, in unlimited numbers. The latter are forming an extremely satisfactory element in the new navy, but it takes time to train them. It is quite evident that they cannot be of much use immediately on entering; but the time it takes to build a ship is always available to enlist and train her crew. All that is needed is the authority of law to enlist them. A point has now been reached where the one thing needful to be done seems apparent. If the authorization to build a new ship should carry with it the authorization to enlist and train a crew for her, the problem would be solved for all time. In practice this would resolve itself into ascertaining the completed and authorized tonnage at the beginning of each fiscal year and then enlisting the additional men needed, not to exceed 60 men for every 1,000 tons of shipping. The total tons for any one year would be the total for the previous year increased by the new tonnage authorized and diminished by the tonnage stricken from the list.

The completed and authorized tonnage by the last Navy Register, January, 1902, was in round numbers 750,000 tons. This will require, when all the vessels shall have been finished, an enlisted force of 45,000 men and boys. In the meantime, to ensure that efficient crews shall be ready to man the completed ships, what is needed now is that the Secretary of the Navy shall have

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power to enlist men and train them as needed, not to exceed the ratio as above determined.

In the above estimates no account is taken of the large fleet of auxiliaries that will have to be impressed into service in time of war. The present small bodies of State naval militia will help to some extent in manning the inner line of defence. In addition, there should be a strong national reserve for use in time of war either on the inner line, aboard the auxiliaries, or to fill the war complements of ships of the navy.

The problem of officers is far more serious for a variety of reasons—among them that, while the enlisted force has been increased by small numbers from time to time, the sea-going officers have not been increased at all since the days of wooden steamers, and that, while a good man-of-war's man can be made in a cruise, it takes a dozen years beginning at boyhood to make an efficient lieutenant. In the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, already referred to, it is shown that 1,026 additional line officers will be needed by the time all the ships then authorized shall be finished, and the estimate is stated to be at least 30 per cent. smaller than the practice abroad for ships in commission. As the navy then consisted of 1,042 line officers, counting the cadets doing sea duty, it meant that the number of officers would have had to be *doubled* in about three years from that time, or in two years from now. The 1,042 officers then on the list had been in training anywhere from four to forty-eight years. In the next two years an equal number must be added to the list to bring up the total strength to a minimum of efficiency! The problem is an impossible one. It means that there has been great short-sightedness in the past, but with that we are not now concerned. For the future, while 1,026 trained officers cannot be provided in two years, still something may be done, and it should be done at once; for every year of delay means the chance of national humiliation, which may however possibly be avoided by acting now. From the figures quoted, that is 2,068 officers and 750,000 tons of shipping,—and as in the case of the enlisted men, they are an exceedingly moderate estimate, made by considering the individual ships and the practice of foreign nations,—the proper ratio of line officers to tons of shipping is seen to be about 3 officers per 1,000 tons. This does not mean that all the officers are required for sea duty. There are some technical duties in con-

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nection with administration and the preparation of ships that will always require some officers to be ashore. Also, a small reserve will be needed to allow for sickness, leave, and the interchange of duties. The total figure quoted above, that is 2,068 officers, was made up of 1,479 officers, or 71 per cent., at sea; 425, or 21 per cent., on shore duty; and 164, or 8 per cent., as a reserve. The total, as has been seen, amounts to 3 officers per 1,000 tons, which ratio should be authorized by law, as has been recommended in the case of the enlisted men, 1 officer for every 20 men, 3 officers and 60 men for every 1,000 tons of completed and authorized shipping, the tonnage to be ascertained at the beginning of each fiscal year, and the quotas of officers and men to hold for that year. The above refers only to line officers, though the same reasoning applies equally to the staff corps.

As has been stated, it will be impossible to provide for these extra officers at once. There are two methods of procedure—one is to appoint a large number of officers directly from civil life, the other is to increase temporarily the Naval Academy appointments to the limit of the resources of that institution. The first method would give the quickest results, the second the best in the long run. The people do not need to be told of the fatal impolicy of appointing officers in the navy who are lacking in a previous thorough naval training. Some there are who would prove capable, but their number is so small as not seriously to affect the issue. If men are appointed without this previous naval training, untold harm may result; for though there is no mystery in the naval profession, it does require a certain amount of technical knowledge, and that of a kind difficult to acquire when the start is not made early in life. It is also possible to commission men who have risen from the ranks, as is done now in a few cases; but owing to the necessarily technical character of the examination, few applicants are successful, not enough to affect the question of supply.

Hence the most available and the only desirable remedy seems to be to increase the appointments to the Naval Academy. The strength of the cadet corps, prior to the session of Congress just ended, was one from each Congressional District, one from each Territory, one from the District of Columbia, and ten at large appointed by the President—total 371. Supposing that all these graduate, which they do not, and assuming the course to be four

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years, this would mean about 93 graduates annually. Actually, this number must be reduced at least a fourth (a half is nearer the experience of the last ten years) to allow for failures during the course. The resulting number has not been enough heretofore to supply the annual waste in the present navy list, as witness 145 vacancies at the foot of the list on January 1st, 1902. With the new apportionment of Congressmen, taking effect next year, there will be twenty-nine more appointments, and the recent naval act, besides changing the title of cadets to midshipmen, gives the President an increase of five appointments, and each Senator one appointment, making a total of 495. But, as has been stated, the list of officers should be doubled in the next two years. Hence the appointments should have been doubled, merely to prevent falling behind. To get ahead they should be more than doubled.

Under the present law, an appointment is made every four years from each Congressional District, except the midshipman fail during the course, when his place is filled. Doubling the appointments would mean one every two years; or, in other words, as Congressmen are elected for two years, each Congressman would then have an appointment, instead of every other one, as now. Then the Presidential appointments could well be made ten annually, instead of fifteen every four years as now; and each Senator, under this rule, would appoint a midshipman to the Academy every two years, instead of every four years, as now. This arrangement would, as stated, probably keep the navy supplied after it shall have reached the strength deemed essential to officer the ships already authorized. But to reach that number as early as possible, and to provide for new ships as they shall be authorized, appointments should be made to Annapolis to the full capacity of the Academy. By considering one from each district every two years to be the normal rate, the Secretary of the Navy could be granted authority to designate the various districts in rotation for extra appointments until the standard ratio should be attained, that is 3 officers for every 1,000 tons of authorized shipping. When this ratio is reached the authority should lapse, and the normal ratio should again hold until a further increase should be needed.

It may be asked how this great expansion may be made without upsetting the existing grades of officers and the duties they are required to perform. The answer is that the addition will neces-

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sarily be spread over a number of years. In an emergency, a graduate of the Naval Academy may be given deck duty at once. In the same way, the present older officers may be given any duty up to and including the highest. Between these two extremes a natural adjustment will readily shape itself. But as the total number of officers on the list will be variable each year, within the limit of 3 officers per 1,000 tons of shipping, the number in each grade cannot be fixed as now, but should be rather a percentage of the whole. Fortunately a basis for arriving at the desirable percentage in each grade exists in the carefully thought out report already referred to. For the then needs of the navy it was shown that there should be a grade of vice-admiral, and that the lieutenants and ensigns should be increased by 300 altogether, leaving the other grades as at present. The complete list would then stand as follows:

Admiral	1	
Vice-Admiral	4	(an increase of 4)
Rear-Admiral	14	(a decrease of 4)
Captain	70	
Commander	112	
Lieutenant-Commander	170	
Lieutenant	350	(an increase of 50)
Lieutenant, Junior Grade, and Ensign	600	(an increase of 250)
Total	1,321	(an increase of 300)

The above list is in accord with the present law except in the variations as noted. The total number in the higher grades is not changed at all, the increase coming in the lieutenants and junior officers, where it is most needed. All that is necessary now is to work out the percentages corresponding to the above numbers. The admiral may be exempted from the percentage rule, simply stipulating that there shall be one admiral and that the other grades shall be a percentage of the whole. The result is as follows:

Admiral (1)	
Vice-Admiral	0.3 per cent.
Rear-Admiral	1.1 per cent.
Captain	5.3 per cent.
Commander	8.5 per cent.
Lieutenant-Commander	12.9 per cent.
Lieutenant	26.5 per cent.
Lieutenant, Junior Grade, and Ensign	45.4 per cent.
Total	100.0

The steps in order, then, are, to make appointments to the Naval Academy every two years, instead of every four years as

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now; and if the capacity of the Academy will permit, to authorize the Secretary of the Navy temporarily to increase the rate until there shall be 3 officers in the navy for every 1,000 tons of completed and authorized shipping; then, of the officers on the list at the beginning of each fiscal year, to specify that one shall be an admiral, and that the numbers in the other grades shall be percentages of the whole in accordance with the list as given. In this way all the grades will be slowly increased, but increased in precisely the proportion required for the proper performance of duty; and eventually, perhaps in a dozen or more years, there should be enough officers to fit out all the ships at the rate of 3 per 1,000 tons.

The problem is thus exceedingly serious. With everything that can be done to build up from the bottom, provided the most energetic means are at once adopted, the grades cannot be properly filled for a number of years. The present session of Congress authorized about 60,000 tons of shipping. This will require 180 additional line officers. Add 40 for waste during the year, and we have 220 in all. There should have been 220 graduates to supply this demand; there were actually 60!

To illustrate the case still further, it is possible to compute the appointments that should be made annually to bring the navy up to proper strength in ten years, counting from 1903, which is the earliest date at which new appointments can now be made. There are at present, completed and authorized, about 800,000 tons of shipping. The average annual increase since the Spanish war (in one year there was no increase authorized) has been 54,000 tons. This is by no means an excessive rate; but, to be conservative and to allow for possible diminutions, assume that 40,000 tons (two-thirds the current appropriation) will represent the annual increase up to 1913, making a total at that time of 1,240,000 tons. At the ratio as above given this would require 3,720 officers. There are now about 1,060 officers on the list, counting the midshipmen who have passed the four-years course and are at sea. Thus, there must be an increase of 2,660 officers all told. The annual waste is now by law about 4 per cent. Suppose all voluntary retirements stopped and the waste cut down to 3 per cent. The average list from now till 1913 would be 2,390, 3 per cent. of which is 72 annually, or about 790 in eleven years, which added to 2,660 makes 3,450, the number of graduates required

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for the eleven years. There will be this coming year at the Academy 466 midshipmen (495 less 29 for the new apportionment not yet in effect). Suppose three-fourths of them graduate, say 350. This taken from the total number required as above, that is 3,450, leaves 3,100 to be appointed and graduated under the new law. As the first appointment cannot be made till 1903, the first graduation will not be until 1907, and there will be seven classes altogether, up to and including 1913. Hence 3,100 must be divided by 7, which gives 443 as the number of annual graduates. Assuming still that three-fourths of those appointed graduate, there must be 591 appointments annually, beginning right away, or as soon as Congress can act, in order to have the navy officered to the lowest estimate of efficiency by 1913. This would mean a midshipman battalion of about 2,000, instead of the present 500, roundly; or for the next ten years an appointment by each Senator and Representative, not every four years as now, but every year or oftener.

To say that this is a serious state of affairs does not reach the outskirts of the situation. It is nothing less than astounding; and it is worse, because the people are absolutely ignorant that such a condition exists. Are we to fall down helpless, or are we to accept the situation and stir ourselves to meet it? It can be met; there are no buildings or appliances now available at Annapolis to accommodate such large numbers, but several ships that are now laid up can be ordered there in reserve and made to answer until other means shall be provided. Surely, now that the truth about this matter has been made clear, the American people will not sit idle and see an institution in which they take a just pride exposed to the risk of a humiliation that will be national if it should come, all because they did not know that the navy was not receiving every proper attention.

Now, all of the above is based on printed official reports, but official reports have no circulation. It may be stated in conclusion that in foreign countries, notably in England, "Navy Leagues" of patriotic citizens exist to keep the people informed of the truth about the navy. No such organization exists in this country.

ROY C. SMITH.

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THE CONTRADICTIONS OF LITERARY CRITICISM.

BY HERBERT CROMBIE HOWE, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON.

THE fundamental aim of all intellectual education is to awaken the power of independent thinking, and to train the individual judgment. Upon this truism we must invariably fall back for comfort after any survey of the hopelessly contradictory tangle of modern criticism. Only one who has had to guide classes of advanced students through a critical study of the novelists, essayists, and poets of the nineteenth century can begin to conceive the absolute completeness of the contradictions which form the body of "accepted" critical opinion. A teacher, brought to a vivid realization of the fact that good authority may be brought against everything he says, finds it a little hard to shape his own course as a lecturer. Three possibilities are open to him. He may ignore the critics altogether, giving his own judgments only, and basing them exclusively on principles of his own formulation. It is safe to say that few pursue this course, which savors, certainly, of intellectual arrogance. Secondly, the lecturer may cite from the critics only such opinions as coincide with his own views. This is what is usually done, consciously or unconsciously, by university teachers. It gives a settled and final air to the critical *dicta* of the lecturer, and imparts to the student a satisfied feeling that he knows, at last, "what is truth" in this field. Thirdly, the lecturer may frankly admit that every point, without exception, in modern literary criticism is in dispute, and cite the weightiest authorities both *pro* and *con,* on every point he touches. There is no air of finality about this method. The lecturer may, it is true, weigh the evidence and the authorities and pronounce his own judgment. But he knows, and his students know, that an appeal

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always lies to the next critic or lecturer. In effect, therefore, this method of teaching literature amounts simply to a clear and systematic statement of the critical problems. Perhaps a student of weak critical decision may be left merely agnostic by such a course. It is, however, the most thorough and honest method, and a reference to the pedagogical principle with which this paragraph begins must justify us to ourselves for following it. Given his thought, not as a categorical positive or negative, but frankly as a problem, with the authorities both for and against, and referred then to the author criticised, and to his own acumen for his decision, the student is at least forced to develop some power of independent literary judgment.

It will be easy to formulate, from a press-full of critical works, complete schedules of these contradictions—concerning the nature of poetry; the function and correct method of the novelist; the general standing of any notable author; the value of any of his larger works, the truth, sincerity, taste, and imaginative insight displayed therein; the truth and power of any given characterization; and each and every other point worthy of consideration. It has proved stimulating to lay such schedules before the student at the beginning of his study of every novelist from Scott to George Meredith, of every poet from Wordsworth to William Morris, and of every essayist from Carlyle and Macaulay to Matthew Arnold and Walter Pater. Now, is it wise that the debatable character of all recent criticism should be hidden from the many? Should he who runs as he reads be left to suppose that the exact rank, and, still more, the exact worth of Dickens and Thackeray, Tennyson and Browning are already forever and immutably weighed and determined? Suppose we invite one of these hasty devourers of the pabulum offered in the "literary column" of the newspaper to weigh and consider a few of the more fundamental, striking, or amusing contradictions which an hour's search among the "authorities" will bring to light.

Perhaps Tennyson will best serve for illustration, not because the critics are any more at variance about him than about his contemporaries, but because the innocent are rather more given to believe that his exact position in the zenith has been determined. Would it be supposed that, while, out of the books of his admirers, we could, after the usual fashion, select sentences which, taken collectively, would elevate Tennyson at least as high

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as Shakespeare, we might also, with little more trouble, choose other sentences from the very same books which, taken collectively, would indicate his proper rank as somewhere below Pope? The fact is that every critic condemns something in this author; only what one condemns the others praise, and *vice versa*. The proof follows; and first as to individual poems:

Is "Maud" a poem great in conception and intellectual content?

YES.	NO.
"Every great poem then—and no poem can be great without intensity of feeling—is also a treasure-house of the intellectual powers, and can be studied, like a universe, from that point of view. 'Maud' is not one of the least of these."[1]	"'Maud' is scanty in theme, thin in treatment, poor in thought."[2]

Does "Maud" reach the truth of men and manners?

YES.	NO.
"No poem since Shakespeare seems to show equal power of the same kind, or equal knowledge of human nature."[3]	"Its characterizations are not happy."[4]
"The prose of Dickens and Thackeray did not more firmly grasp real and actual manners."[5]	"In 'Maud' . . . the author's personality less obviously interposes a false atmosphere between the reader and actual life. But the falsification nevertheless exists. . . ."[6]

Well, then, is "Maud" a thing of beauty and a joy forever?

YES.	NO.
"'Maud' is so beautiful a poem that the small regrets of criticism are as nothing in comparison with the large delights it gives."	"The pity of it was that this production appeared when Tennyson suddenly had become fashionable. . . . and to this day Tennyson is deemed, by many . . . an apostle of tinsel and affectation."[2]
"'Maud,' in its joy and sorrow alike, is the loveliest of Tennyson's longer poems."[1]	

It will be observed that Mr. Stopford Brooke is here most fully quoted in admiration of "Maud" (though it should be added that Mr. H. Buxton Forman is even more enthusiastic, only less concisely quotable), and that Mr. Stedman is most severe in his strictures. We may, however, reverse the position of these two

[1] Stopford Brooke, "Tennyson, His Art and Relation to Modern Life."
[2] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[3] B. Jowett, in "Tennyson, A Memoir."
[4] Saintsbury, "History of Nineteenth Century Literature."
[5] Taine, "History of English Literature."
[6] Gates, "Studies and Appreciations."

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critical warriors by simply passing on to the "Idyls of the King." Let us, as a sufficiently fundamental question, ask these gentlemen:

Do the "Idyls of the King" display epic nobility of thought? Has Tennyson elevated and ennobled the old story told by Malory?

YES.

"It is the epic of chivalry,—*the Christian ideal of chivalry* which we have deduced from a barbaric source,—*our conception of what knighthood should be*, rather than what it really was; but so skilfully wrought of high imaginings, faery spells, fantastic legends, and mediæval splendors, that *the whole work*, suffused with the Tennysonian glamor of golden mist, seems like a chronicle illuminated by saintly hands, and often blazes with light like that which flashed from the holy wizard's book when the covers were unclasped."

NO.

"Malory's book, though Tennyson decries its morality, is more human, more moral than the 'Idyls of the King.' . . .

"First, the old story of Tristram and Isolt is entirely changed and degraded. . . . No one has a right to alter out of recognition two characters in one of the great poetic stories of the world, and to blacken them. . . .

"Geraint falls too low, and his fall has not sufficient motive. . . . While Enid sits in the room, Limours drinks and jests and tells loose tales. Geraint is pleased, and bursts into laughter! . . . What follows is worse. . . . *These vilenesses are added by Tennyson* to the Geraint of the old tale.

"The condition of society in the court and country set forth in 'Pelleas and Ettarre' and 'The Last Tournament' is incredibly bad. Rome in its decadence, France under the Regent, were not so wholly evil as Arthur's court. . . . The chief thing that appears is, that chastity is impossible."

Upon this theme, indeed, Mr. Stopford Brooke waxes righteously indignant, and speaks warmly and at much more length. All lovers, too, of the Tristram story must feel that Tennyson's debasement of it cannot be too severely condemned. But let us ask of him who runs as he reads, if "vilenesses" are usually added by "saintly hands" to the chronicles they illuminate? And whether a state of society worse than "Rome in its decadence" is really our "Christian ideal of chivalry"? This is certainly a little bewildering, until one gets used to it.

Now, turning from this ethical dispute, we may justly ask a question or two concerning the artistic value of the "Idyls." First:

Do the "Idyls of the King," in form and substance, constitute an epic?

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YES.	NO.
"The shape is no longer idyllic, and doubt no longer exists whether a successful epic can be written in a mature period of national literature. We have one here."[1]	"The 'Idyls' have not the coherence required in the books of an epic."[2] ". . . . It is not an epic. Its form forbids us to call it by that name."[3] "Arthur is not an epic hero, and . . . this poem cannot be called an epic."[4]

Having now decided on high authority that the "Idyls" are and are not an epic, there is perhaps only one more question we need ask about them.

Are the "Idyls of the King" Tennyson's greatest achievement?

YES.	NO.
"We come at last to Tennyson's master work."[5] "His finest thoughts and finest lines are here. They are his *magnum opus*, and on them his claim to fame rests."[6]	"If M. Taine's theory of a decadence in every artist and school of artists is to be applied in this case, the decadence period of Tennyson must be taken as commencing with 'The Idyls of the King.'"[7]

Then there is "In Memoriam." Surely all are agreed in praise of it? Let us inquire:

Is it a poem of profound thought and heart-felt emotion?

YES.	NO.
"It is the central poem of the century, not only in date, but in scope and character. In its complexity and inwardness, its passion pulsing through every vein of thought, . . ."[8]	". . . Cold and monotonous, and too prettily arranged. He goes into mourning, but, like a correct gentleman, with brand-new gloves, wipes away his tears with a cambric handkerchief, . . ."[9]

There is no repose here for the lover of authority. But, it may be said, at least all will praise Tennyson's shorter poems? We will consider one of them before examining the opinions as to his work in general. Probably, none is more read by the average man than "Enoch Arden."

Is "Enoch Arden" simply and tenderly written?

[1] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[2] Walker, "Age of Tennyson."
[3] and [4] Stopford Brooke, "Tennyson, His Art and Relation to Modern Life."
[5] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[6] W. J. Dawson, "Makers of Modern Poetry."
[7] H. Buxton Forman, "Our Living Poets."
[8] Vida Scudder, "The Light of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets."
[9] Taine, "History of English Literature."

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YES.

"His similes in 'Enoch Arden,' he said, were all such as might have been used by simple fisher-folk, quoting this as one of the tenderest (he thought) he had written:

'She heard,
Heard and not heard him; as the village girl,
Who sets her pitcher underneath the spring,
Musing on him that used to fill it for her,
Hears and not hears, and lets it overflow.'"[1]

NO.

"Walter Bagehot has pointed out that in no single instance throughout the poem is Tennyson content to speak in the language of simplicity. The phrases are often happy, often expressive, but always stiff with an elaborate word chiselling. To express the very homely circumstance that Enoch Arden was a fisherman and sold fish, we are told that he vended 'ocean-spoil in ocean-smelling osier.'"[2]

Is the poem true to the realities of men's lives?

YES.

". . . Noticeable, finally, for the loveliness and fidelity of its *genre* scenes."[3]

"The atmosphere of a remote seaside hamlet, and of its life from day to day, is fully preserved and felt."[4]

NO.

"Never for a moment in 'Enoch Arden' is the reader brought into touch with real characters or with the real experiences of sailors. . . . The poem has none of the savor of fact. It is lyrically falsified from first to last. . . ."[5]

These statements are assuredly in rather violent opposition, and they might be almost indefinitely multiplied. One more, perhaps the most amusing of all the Tennyson contradictions, must be cited.

Is Enoch a type of the hardy English seaman?

YES.

"Enoch—to speak first of him—is the type of the 'able seamen' of England . . . the mainstay of our navies—a type which has lasted more than a thousand years. . . ."[4]

NO.

"He is a sentimental, soft-hearted dreamer . . . anæmic and semi-hysterical; . . ."[6]

Can it be that the men who sailed and fought under Drake and Hawkins and Nelson, and England's other naval heroes for a thousand years past, have been anæmic and semi-hysterical? Some one has blundered, surely! The temptation is great to continue the citation of these diverting opinions about Enoch, but space forbids. We may, however, for its connection with this

[1] Hallam Tennyson, "Tennyson. A Memoir."
[2] Dawson, "Makers of Modern Poetry."
[3] Stedman, Victorian Poets."
[4] Stopford Brooke, "Tennyson, His Art and Relation to Modern Life."
[5] Gates, "Studies and Appreciations."

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poem, place here the first of our disputed questions in general Tennyson-lore.

Is Tennyson unfailing in his good taste?

YES.	NO.
"Let me conclude my remarks upon the Laureate's art with a reference to his unfailing taste and sense of the fitness of things. This is neatly exemplified in the openings and especially in the endings, of his idyls."[1]	"So past the strong heroic soul away. And when they buried him the little port Had seldom seen a *costlier* funeral."[2]

A number of critics have called attention to the curious lapse in taste which led Tennyson to add this totally superfluous postscript about the expense of Enoch's funeral, with its unfortunate effect of throwing the accumulated emphasis of the whole poem on that adjective "costlier." The lines themselves, however, are a more pointed comment on Mr. Stedman's particularized praise than anything the critics could say. It may be added that this is not the only instance in which Mr. Stedman has strikingly exemplified the maxim "*De gustibus.*" For, in considering the "Idyls of the King," he selects for his warmest praise—"there is nothing finer in modern verse . . . . nothing loftier"—the particular passage,

> "O golden hair with which I used to play
> Not knowing! . . ."

which Mr. Stopford Brooke frankly wishes expunged on grounds of taste, namely, that it is "too literal," "too much in the flesh."

The mere lack of space prevents the continuance of extended citation from the field of general criticism. It is the less to be regretted, however, as the contradictions in this domain are chiefly amplifications of opinions implied in the quotations already given. A few of the disputed points should be mentioned, however. First of all, Mr. Stopford Brooke puts his finger on simplicity as the fundamental characteristic of Tennyson and his poetry. The present writer, who had pondered and accepted Matthew Arnold's dictum (in the essay "On Translating Homer") long before Mr. Brooke's study came out, found this the final and severest shock to his reverence for critical authority; for it will be remembered that Mr. Arnold picked out the fundamental

[1] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[2] Concluding lines of "Enoch Arden."

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and invariable lack of simplicity in Tennyson as the reason for not inviting him to translate Homer. Some of us had thought that, if nothing else was settled about Tennyson, at least nobody denied that "the very essential characteristic of his poetry is . . . . an extreme subtlety and curious elaborateness of expression." Indeed, there remain some whom Mr. Brooke cannot persuade into considering the case reopened.

Another critical antinomy is in the matter of Tennyson's sympathetic understanding of the humble and lowly. Mr. Stedman will have it, *apropos* of "Enoch Arden," that "in study of a class below him, hearts 'centred in the sphere of common duties,' the Laureate is unsurpassed." On the other hand, Dawson, Brooke, Gates and other critics insist upon his alienation from, indeed his aristocratic scorn and contempt for, "the plain people." One might, indeed, suggest that Mr. Stedman's phrase—"a class below him"—indicates at least a subconsciousness on his part that Tennyson was not in brotherly sympathy with the lowly. The poets of human life, whether we look to Burns or Wordsworth, Whittier or Riley, do not make one feel that they were studying a class below them. But this is undertaking a solution of one of these problems, a task which this paper aims at inducing the reader to undertake for himself.

We cannot leave the whole subject, however, without some inquiry into the means of bringing order out of that critical chaos, some little glimpse of which has here been afforded. How shall we determine "what is truth"? We take it for granted that we all believe there is truth here somewhere, if we may only possess ourselves of some means of recognizing it. Shall we simply apply to our own critical consciences for an ultimate decision in each case? Very good, only then no two will announce the same things as truth.

Suppose instead, then, we begin by criticising the critics. Let us, by patient research, determine the personal idiosyncrasy of each critic, and by discounting it work all these contradictions down into smiling agreement. No doubt, much may be accomplished in this way. Some critical biases are easily discernible. Mr. Stedman, for example, is always praising the "art" of an author like Tennyson. But when he particularizes his praise of this "art," he does so altogether in terms of metre, "sinuous alliterations, unique and varying breaks and pauses, the glory

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of sound and color," and other such details of technique. But the one essential which makes any work "artistic," as opposed to "mechanical" or "photographic"—namely, what the painters call "composition," and the architects "design,"—does not enter, apparently, into Mr. Stedman's working conception of the "artistic" at all. This, of course, explains why he can say of Tennyson, whose deficiency in large, shaping constructiveness is so unmistakable, that, "as an artist in verse, Alfred Tennyson is the greatest of modern poets." It is this tendency, too, to look exclusively to the polish of the parts, rather than to their grouping in a large and masterly design, which led Mr. Stedman into his hasty proclamation of the "Idyls of the King" as not only Tennyson's masterpiece, but a true epic; an opinion very warmly opposed by the majority of critics, who affirm the "Idyls" to be, on the contrary, considered as a single poem, hopelessly incoherent. "A more lamentable state of things than this it is hard to imagine as the sober and well-considered plan of a great poet," is the opinion expressed by Mr. H. Buxton Forman, after a detailed study of the plot of the "Idyls." It is easy, then, after a thorough reading of Mr. Stedman, to translate his praises of Tennyson's artistic pre-eminence into the single definite phrase "metrical elegance," which, happily, Mr. Stedman himself once uses, and very justly, in speaking of Tennyson's 1832 volume.

The key to some critics is, however, not so easily found. And it must be expected that criticism of the critics will prove as full of debate and contradiction as the criticism of poets and novelists. At the best, this method of attack will probably only shift the scene of battle; while, at the worst, it may lead to "confusion worse confounded," and a mere multiplication of inextricable entanglements. What hope is left?

There is only one more chance,—let us out with it at once,—the systematic application, by some critic of synthetic genius, of the famed Hegelian method. The world still refuses, it is true, to accept, in entire seriousness of mind, the Hegelian postulate that human thought—which is always critical—has in all lines and in all times arrived at truth *via* contradiction. Nevertheless, the thorough-paced application of this maxim by its author to various fields of thought proved it to be one of the most practically illuminative forms assumed by the doctrine of evolution. Applied, for example, to the study of the Greek philosophers,

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whose theories seem at first blush quite as chaotic as those of our recent literary critics, the Hegelian method did actually produce therein the semblance of an orderly evolution of thought. There is, then, hope that, if this method should be applied to our literary critics with all the patience, intelligence, and comprehensiveness exercised by its author, we might here also lay hold of some clue which would lead us through these very contradictions to the beauty and fullness of truth. But, until the arrival of this new Hegel, we must look for our only comfort to the educational theorem with which this paper opens.

HERBERT CROMBIE HOWE.

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THE MANAGEMENT AND USES OF EXPOSITIONS.

BY GEORGE FREDERICK KUNZ.

SIX expositions, each significant of new and important developments in art and industry, have been in progress this summer, in Turin, Düsseldorf, Frankfort, Karlsruhe, Bruges and Krefeld. The best interests of civilization will be advanced by each of these enterprises. In proportion as expositions, international, national and local, are conducted on proper principles—radically different from those heretofore in vogue in the United States—they benefit the public as well as the exhibitors and concessionnaires, not to speak of the contractors and creditors, who, in our country, have occupied a position peculiarly unprotected and not infrequently painful.

In Turin, the capital of Piedmont, a beautiful city of more than 300,000 inhabitants, the first International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art has been in progress. In no country might a nobler or more lavish display have been made; yet so clearly were the purposes of the Exposition defined that neither reproductions of styles already known, nor simple industrial productions lacking an artistic stamp, were admitted. The United States, thanks to its æsthetic revival in architecture and house decoration, was able to make a most gratifying showing in the very midst of the loftiest ideals of the mistress of ancient art.

Most modern expositions, when international, represent all classes of industries and become so unwieldy that it requires long study to grasp even a part of their exhibits; and the great expense of their administration generally results in heavy loss to the exposition companies. Unlike these, the Turin Exposition was devoted entirely to modern decorative art, with a section of fine arts added. Thanks to this specialization, the achievements of

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the various European countries, of the United States and of the various Italian States, in this direction, were susceptible of careful study within two days. That astonishing and intensely interesting development of our time, whose ultimate conceptions we cannot now surmise, *l'Art Moderne,* found fitting expression in the exposition buildings themselves in beautiful Valentino Park, on the banks of the River Po. The panorama was most impressive. On the left stretched an arc of lovely hills, including Superga, with the royal burial church of the house of Savoy; on the right, the crescent of the permanently snow-clad Alps.

The King and Queen and the entire Italian Court have shown the most kindly attitude toward the Exposition, which is partly due to the fact that both King Victor Emanuel III. and the Duke d' Aosta, his brother, are men of remarkable intelligence, desirous of learning and taking a personal, friendly interest in everything that pertains to the advancement of art and industry in Italy. Many European countries, including France, were more than friendly, although the French exhibit in its early stages was not what it should have been, which fact was attributed to dissensions among the members of the French committee.

The disciples of the new art never had a better opportunity to show their devotion to the cause, as the entire Exposition was devoted to their work. Walter Crane of England, Mackintosh of Scotland, Bing of France and Sacher of Holland were represented, as well as other exponents of the art from Russia, Hungary, Austria and Sweden. Austria was the only country that decided on a pavilion of its own, which was entirely constructed on the new art principles.

Probably no exhibition has been made abroad by the United States in which the pecuniary value of the exhibits amounted to less, excepting those of Tiffany & Co., Tiffany Glass Co., Graham Co., Rockwood, Taft and Belknap. The exhibits were, however, pleasing even to an American, as they were original designs growing out of the new movement in industrial, decorative and architectural art in the United States. Our greatest architects furnished drawings of our modern buildings, and our decorators exhibited completely appointed rooms showing the American methods of decoration. The results thus achieved, largely through the disinterested efforts of General L. Palma di Cesnola, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New

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York, organizer and president of the American Commission, will undoubtedly be far-reaching.

The Exposition will greatly benefit Italy, as each province made its own exhibit; and, instead of hackneyed reproductions of the Roman and the Renaissance periods, there were presented new creations and new studies. The interchange of ideas between the members of the various Exposition boards will also do much for that country.

Specialization, which must, it seems to me, be more and more the distinguishing characteristic of successful expositions, as it is indeed of contemporary life, has been carried out effectively in Turin. The decorative whole was the ideal aimed at. In the Modern House and its Decorative Elements, for example, were grouped oil or frescoed sketches of ceilings, friezes, etc.; the friezes and panels themselves, of stone, metal, plaster, etc.; doors, windows, chimney-pieces; vases, bricks, tiles; stained and decorative glass; pavements and mosaics in general; artistic hangings; laces, embroideries, linens, wall papers, leather work; basket work; arms and their accessories; warming apparatus; lighting apparatus; furniture; silver, jewelry, enamels; decorative plates, seals, plaquettes; posters, prints and the products of the bookbinder's craft. Here was not only art, but artistic completeness. In the same way, the Modern Room included, in its artistic whole, pavements, walls, ceilings, furniture and accessories. In its decorative whole, the Modern House and Street comprised plans of buildings and of their parts; plans of streets, squares, bridges and porches; and, for the exterior, decorative designs for railings, balustrades, posts, door-knobs, door-handles, fountains, sconces, lanterns, benches, house-fronts and summer-houses. Here was a triumph of detail, which might be called a definition of art itself.

At Düsseldorf, the home of the powerful Kunstverein of Rhineland and Westphalia, the National and Historical Exhibition of German Art has been both beautiful and instructive. When one recalls the vital initiative given to art study and art collection in the United States only twenty-six years ago by the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, one may understand what the Kunstverein has been able to do for German Art since its foundation in 1829. Since 1880, when there was a similar exhibition in Düsseldorf, the population of Rhineland and West-

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phalia has grown from 5,700,000 to 9,000,000, and the city of Düsseldorf from 80,000 to 250,000 inhabitants. Every trade, art and industry on the Rhine banks has been highly organized. Under the auspices of the Künstlerschaft, Düsseldorf has again witnessed the assembling of a wonderfully varied and rich collection of art objects—oil paintings, aquarelles, pastels, plastiques, illustrations of architecture and photographic reproductions of historic minsters. Here also were seen for the first time a representative array of their gold and silver reliquaries, monstrances, crosses, images, shrines, statuettes, altar-pieces, altars, embroideries, goblets and books of hours. The priceless treasures of the cathedrals and cloisters in the Rhine Valley were here assembled and viewed for the first time. Not even the famous ring of the Holy Elizabeth of Wagner's Tannhäuser was forgotten. The whole was under the auspices of the Crown Prince of Prussia and of the German Empire. The popularity of this exposition was proven by the attendance of 1,000,000 visitors in a single week in July.

The practical results of such exhibitions and of the organization which makes them possible are thoroughly understood in Germany. At Frankfort on the Main this summer's exposition has been devoted to a splendid gathering of groups or collections of art antiques, chiefly mediæval. Private collectors all over the Empire were glad of an opportunity of helping the national movement by lending their treasures, objects of art often unique and priceless, and not to be found in any national or public museum: carved, inlaid and gilded furniture; figures in wood; bronzes; gold and gold-and-silver vessels, chalices, fonts, etc.; iron hammers, chests and helms; medals and plaques; ivory objects; paintings and enamels; carved rock-crystals, majolica, glass, stone and horn ware; textiles, medallions, manuscripts and books of hours. No one could form an idea of the riches of the private collections of Germany until this assemblage or exhibition of collections was made, by the generosity of their owners, in April at Frankfort. Nor is it to be forgotten that such an assembling of the treasures of private collections results frequently in their ultimate donation to some noble public purpose, or their absorption in some larger collection. When the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore, a city of historic and artistic distinction in the United States, recently held on a modest scale an ex-

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position of this description, many of the treasures of private collectors were for the first time revealed to Baltimoreans. Most instructive and valuable was the exhibit of the original manuscript of "The Star Spangled Banner," the first proof of it from the printing press, the portrait, by Peale, of Francis Scott Key, its author, and of other historical souvenirs of this famous song. Here were lessons in history for all Americans, such as no books nor orations could furnish. The ladies of Baltimore went to the wealthy and modest collectors of the Monumental City and solicited the loan of their treasures. For the first time Baltimore held an exhibition without calling on the collection of Mr. W. T. Walters, now owned and admirably administered by his son, Mr. Henry Walters, and always so generously shown. The son is widely recognized as a worthy successor to his father, whose generous traditions he inherits. It was the elder Walters who discovered the French sculptor, Barye, whose portrait by Bonnat is a feature of the Walters gallery, as is Mr. Walters's own portrait by the same hand, and Bonnat's portrait of himself. When there was talk of the purchase for America of the Oriental art objects exhibited at the Centennial in 1876, Mr. Walters could truthfully say, "I have no competitor." There were few collectors, indeed, in this country, and almost no museums or artistic homes in which to house such collections appropriately.

This year's exhibition at Karlsruhe has been a Jubilee Art Exposition in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of the Grand Duke. What the Düsseldorf Fair did for Rhineland and Westphalia, Karlsruhe has done for Baden. There has been a most interesting and instructive showing of the fine and industrial arts, especially of *l'Art Moderne.* Here have been assembled the works of the men who are doing the new art work in South Germany.

At Krefeld, in the Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, a *Farbenschau,* or Color Scheme, the first of its kind in Germany, has been exhibited under the direction of Dr. Dencken, who has supervised many exhibitions of the useful arts. Primarily intended to develop and train the color sense, the Krefeld Fair afforded an opportunity for the assemblage of a collection of objects in gorgeously beautiful colors. There were eighty tables upon which were arranged the silks, velvets, stuffs, precious stones and minerals of other descriptions, marbles, shells, butterflies, birds,

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and even color sketches by artists—each sequence scientifically designed, and the whole contributing powerfully, as will readily be seen, to the material and artistic welfare of a community in which the dyeing of silks, velvets and stuffs forms an important branch of trade.

At the Exposition of the Primitives, opened in Bruges in July and still in progress, the works of the early Flemish masters, gathered from the chapels, churches and museums of Antwerp, Rouen, Bruges, Brussels and from as far as Spain and Scotland, have been grouped for the first time, to the delight of all art lovers, and decidedly to the advantage of painters and art collectors as well as the public at large.

In addition to the fairs at Turin, Düsseldorf, Frankfort, Karlsruhe, Bruges and Krefeld, 1902 has seen in Paris the usual exposition by the Beaux Arts Society in the Grand Palace of the Fine Arts in the avenue d'Antin, and an exposition at Wolverhampton, in England, of glass and pottery distinctly educational in effect.

Few persons realize that the first exposition held was that of Prague, 1791. At its centennial in 1891 at Prague, the until then inaccessible treasures of gold, silver, crystals and vestments of its nobles were gathered, for the only time, in the Bohemian capital. Next in historic importance was the great exposition at London in the Crystal Palace in 1851, the buildings of which to this day stand a monument to the wisdom and far-seeing prudence of Prince Albert. That fair has had much to do with art conditions in England, which, while excelling in painting and pottery, is yet behindhand in gold and silver work. A direct result of the Crystal Palace is the famous South Kensington Museum. English potters had no superiors at the 1889 Paris Exposition. But Director Sandier's management of the porcelain works stimulated French potters so that in 1900 they again led. Following close upon the London World's Fair, that at New York in 1853 was the first on this side of the Atlantic. The New York Crystal Palace was patterned closely after the former in style, and though much smaller, was no less beautiful, perhaps even more so, from its more compact and symmetrical outlines. It was the first illustration in this country of the architectural possibilities of iron and glass; and it gave to multitudes, at a time when European travel was limited to a few, the opportunity of seeing

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a rich and worthy representation of the art and industries of the Old World. Among American displays, too, it was the beginning of a new epoch.

In the United States, beginning with the Centennial Exposition in 1876, expositions have been held in Philadelphia, Denver, Chicago, Atlanta, Nashville, Omaha, Buffalo and Charleston. Ours is and must be more and more the country which has the most use for expositions. There is no other, in the world, of such widely separated communities, of such diverse resources. Tastes, manufactures, wants and objects of interest differ with climate and elevation; so that there is continually room somewhere in the United States for some new exposition which shall especially make known the products and the people of the region in which it is held, and yet shall appeal eloquently to the whole country. Why should there not be held, for example, in Santa Fé an Exposition of Aboriginal Art, in which the pottery and blankets, weapons, embroideries and picture-writings of the Pueblos, the Navajos, the Apaches and the Sioux would be comprehensively illustrated, with the finest bucks and squaws of each band and tribe in attendance, in all the glory of their savage finery? Would not the ethnologists of the world come eagerly to our shores to see such a sight, to improve perhaps the last opportunity of studying at first hand the fast-vanishing characteristics of one of the most unfortunate and interesting races of history? Simultaneously there might be held in the East, as a complement and foil to this peculiarly Western show, another exposition of the Art, Literature, Furniture and Historical Relics in general of the American Colonies. Nothing more interesting to collectors and students of history, and indeed to every American, could be conceived of in this era of Americana. Then there might be a third—to be held in the South—illustrating the life and order of the Ante-Bellum Epoch, the history and progress of the Negro race in the United States, the delightfully patriarchal plantation life, with its vast cotton fields and its negro quarters. What better answer could there be to "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—a book which so many good people believe to be a libel, and which lives on in spite of them, written in sincerity, hence its hold,—than such an exposition, to which the whole South, the Old and the New, should contribute? These would be, however, only passing illustrations of the usefulness of national expositions in this

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country. The lessons which their managers might draw with profit from the conduct of the six expositions now in progress abroad, may also be read between the lines of the history of most of the expositions held in the United States.

The indictment lies that such enterprises in our country have been largely planned and managed for the pecuniary benefit of their promoters; that the expenses of their administration have been continually evaded; that business men who risked their money, their goods and their time in an enterprise which they had a right to believe national, have in the end been forced to the conclusion that they were drawn into a private speculation from which real estate dealers, railroad companies, hotels and local tradesmen derived huge profits, profits which should have gone into a general fund to pay all just debts and charges before any individual benefited by a single dollar. The time must come when the public and the exhibitors at American expositions will cease to suffer from the greed of private speculators, the brutality of inefficient management and the misdirection of the Man Who Does Not Know.

On the last day of the last session of Congress, bills were passed appropriating $500,000 for the unpaid expenses of the Buffalo Exposition and $160,000 for those of the Charleston Fair. Had those two enterprises been managed on the lines of the current exposition in any one of the six European cities I have named, such an appeal to the National Legislature would have been unnecessary. Had they been managed as all such affairs are managed abroad, their expenses would have been paid out of moneys which should have gone into the general fund instead of to private beneficiaries. Why should the contractors at Buffalo who built the splendid and beautiful structures which justified the name of "The Dream City" have gone unpaid, when the railroads and hotel-keepers made profits? A study of the statistics of the Philadelphia Exposition, the Chicago Fair, and of the expositions at Nashville, Omaha, Atlanta and Charleston supports the argument. There may in time be one exposition, or several expositions, each year somewhere in North America. But the plan and scope of them all must be materially different from those of their predecessors, it seems to me, if they are to confer upon the people at large and the business men specially interested the benefits they have a right to expect.

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The Exposition of 1876 resulted in a collapse in Philadelphia real estate due to over-speculation in the vicinity of the Fair. This over-speculation in land led to over-speculation in other directions, and a long period of depression ensued. Nor did the patriotic subscribers to the stock of the Exposition—which from its very nature seemed to them surrounded by national guarantees—ever receive a dollar in return.

Yet in every large city of the United States the quarter of a century just passed witnessed the building and endowment of art museums and the creation of art collections worthy of splendid homes, and to this art movement of national proportions the Philadelphia Exposition contributed largely. Another most useful outcome was the Memorial Hall, and its sequel, the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, as yet only in its infancy. One of the most delightful features of the Philadelphia Fair was the attendance of that genial monarch, Dom Pedro, who was quite as interesting at the Centennial as the Shahs of Persia have been at the Paris expositions. He came to learn and to buy, and he bought $2,000,000 worth of railroad supplies for Brazil, to establish Petropolis, the yellow-fever-proof city upon a mountain, 35 miles from Rio Janeiro, the most ideal suburban town near any large city in a warm climate.

Financially the Columbian Exposition had a history similar to that of Philadelphia.

Yet it could never be said that the management of the Chicago Fair did not make an effort to secure the very ablest director in the country. It is said that to a gentleman who is now at the head of one of the best managed American corporations, an offer was made of a salary one and a half times as great as that of the President of the United States. His services would have been cheap at twice that sum.

It is not difficult to look back and point out reasons for the insufficiency of cash receipts. Conspicuous among them is the Sunday-closing issue. The great Paris Expositions averaged an attendance of 500,000 every Sunday. In a speech in the United States Senate on July 11, 1892, on the proposition to open the Columbian Exposition on Sunday, Senator Hawley declared:

"Up to this time there has never been a State exhibition, a State fair, a county fair, or a city fair or a circus, or a show of any description, opened on Sunday. There has never been a secular convention, social, po-

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litical, scientific, literary, or commercial that has not adjourned over Sunday."

Americans in general do not seem to want Sunday opening. But it nevertheless remains a fact that the religious or appropriate Sunday features of expositions have never been properly exploited.

At Chicago, at Buffalo, and indeed at the intervening fairs, the landscapes, water-courses and works of art could have been viewed by the public on Sunday without violating proprieties. The Congress of Religions at Chicago might have been held in the Exposition Grounds, and on Sundays just as well as on week days, and so have furnished to many thousands of religious people a legitimate reason for passing the gates on Sunday. The stadium at the Pan-American would seat 15,000 people comfortably. The morbid feeling inspired by the shooting of President McKinley in the Exposition would have been largely dissipated, had McKinley Memorial Services been held there on a Sunday, the Exposition being open without charge. The deficit of the Buffalo Exposition might have been largely reduced, if not overcome, had the great preachers of the country been called upon to hold services in the Fair Grounds to which the usual admission fee, or one-half the usual fee, could have been charged. Much good would have been done, and the strongest element in the country would have sustained the Fair.

The Chicago Fair also exerted a powerful influence as an educator of the people, a means of introducing new ideals and standards of architecture and art into their homes. Before the Columbian Exposition had closed its doors, every piece of Sèvres porcelain and royal Copenhagen exhibited there had been sold, and had gone on its way into a new home and a new environment, educating and elevating the community.

American expositions have been distinctly beneficial to the cities in which they were held and to the country at large. A great boom in mines followed the Denver Mining Exposition of 1882. While the Chicago Fair illustrated the first and the Buffalo Fair the latest developments in electric lighting, the intermediate stages were beautifully shown at Omaha. At the Atlanta Exposition there was a handsome exhibition of the arts and industries of the Southern States. Booker Washington made his first great speech in Atlanta. At Nashville, where the develop-

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ment of local industries and of negro handiwork, manufactures and buildings was well shown, incalculable good was done to Southern consumers and Northern manufacturers as well, by the introduction of the more modern goods of the latter, such as packing-house products, to that virgin market.

An exposition is an ordered collection of exhibits, and without exhibitors there could not be an exposition. Paid officials should always be appointed, to protect, advance and bring out the greatest features and values of exhibits, if expositions are to be a success. But if the exhibits are neglected for social tufts or the hunt for decorations, they are much less so.

If legitimate manufacturers could be engaged not to make a salesroom of a fair, but an exposition of fine wares, millions of money would often be spent by the visitors, greatly to the encouragement of exhibitors, who have been known to spend a fortune at a single exposition. Few persons realize the cost to such exhibitors as Edison, McCormick, Krupp, Tiffany and other grand prize medallists.

Many expositions are not successful owing to poor representation, or to the neglect and absence of employees or agents, who, when the vigilant eye of the employer is not upon them, fail to appear until noon. The exhibitor who sends the most adaptive, courteous and active of his staff, almost invariably meets with success.

As a benefit to exhibitors, Nijni Novgorod may be taken as a contrast and an example. At the great fair held there annually for over a century, a French prime minister was amazed to learn that the sales within six weeks' time amounted to 1,000,000,000 francs; and all Central Asia has there had an annual exchange with the whole territory of Central Europe.

Abroad, the expenses of a fair are provided for before the doors are opened. The personnel of the management comes from the staffs of various government departments, consisting of trained and skilled men. Private individuals are not permitted to form companies, by which they can contrive to reap profits, while the creditors whistle for their money, should the enterprise prove unsuccessful. The failure on the part of the management of a fair to meet authorized obligations incurred on its credit or to promote its legitimate purposes, would be considered there as disgraceful as the failure of a private citizen or firm in business—a

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scandal of which even the relations of the bankrupt feel the shame. The exposition management is, therefore, of necessity composed entirely of men of good social and financial standing, who either devote their entire time to the public welfare without recompense, or who are appointed after a careful selection from the various guilds of the professions making up the exposition committees. The member of the committee representing the leather workers or the furniture or piano manufacturers is always a man of eminence in his craft, a man of undoubted integrity, and he has sufficient tact to work jointly with the many exhibitors in his own line without producing discord among them. He generally places his own exhibit, if he has one, *hors concours*. By doing this his recognition is quite as great as that of the exhibitor who receives the greatest prize. The exposition company almost invariably manages to clear expenses and not to leave a great debt or deficiency at the close as a burden upon patriotic citizens who had every hope of receiving back their loan from the exposition. In many of the foreign expositions, the concessions are sold very reasonably, frequently for no more than the price of the building in which the exhibit is placed. The result is that better accommodations at reasonable rates do much to attract visitors to the exposition, who provide an income from gate receipts and benefit the exhibitor by their presence and encouragement. And, as a souvenir, every such enterprise leaves to the city in which it has been held some lasting and beautiful monument, such as the Trocadero, the Alexander Bridge, the Great Art Palace and the Small Art Palace in Paris. Each of these recalls to the French people the World's Fair which gave it birth. Yet no American should see the Eiffel Tower without recalling that it was the American elevator which made it practicable, as it was the American electric lights and the American pumps which contributed so greatly to the general success of the Paris Fair of 1889. "You can't exhibit your elevators," said the always far-sighted Frenchman; "it is honor enough for you to have them there!" And so it was.

Buffalo will recall the Pan-American Exposition in the classical marble building of the State of New York, now the permanent home of the Buffalo Historical Society, and likewise its even more stately companion, the Albright Art Gallery, which, if it had been completed in time for the Exposition, might well

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have drawn a million additional visitors. The public patronize the Fine Art galleries; and the good accomplished by their presence at such expositions is perhaps more lasting than the evil done by the "Midways," as they have been conducted on most of such occasions recently,—shall we call them midways between propriety and impropriety? These should and can be so regulated as to amuse and yet not to corrupt.

The whole tendency of our time is, as I have said, towards specialization. It is more and more necessary for that reason that there should be an increasing number of expositions, so that the world may learn of what is being accomplished and has been accomplished in each line of special effort, art, industry, manufacture or science. Expositions have come, therefore, to be a necessary factor in the development of science and art, whose great men and companies perfect with increasing rapidity in the laboratory and the studio that which they demonstrate in the exposition hall. There should be a World's Fair in 1908 on Manhattan Island in honor of the tercentenary of Henry Hudson's arrival in the "Half-Moon," as has been suggested by that able Dutch-American, Jan Theodore van Gestel. By that time the Hudson and the East River will have been tunnelled; the achievements of the Steel Trust and of the great railroad corporations will have revolutionized rapid transit in, under and through the city; the Palisades under which Hudson sailed will have been safeguarded and parked—largely through the generosity of the private citizen in whose honor Morgan Boulevard will have been named; and the imperial city which has criticised so many expositions and has learned something from them all, will be in a position to accommodate a million visitors a day and to show the world what an exposition should be.

By that time the new wings will be added to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and to the American Museum of Natural History.

The Botanic and the Zoological gardens will by that time have reached a further growth, and the buildings and grounds will have lost their marks of newness, and will thus compare better with similar institutions of the Old World.

Where now is the chaotic ruined region of Reservoir Square will then be our great public library, a building that for its out-

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ward stateliness and the combination of literary treasures in its contents, will be a worthy evidence of the intelligence and desire to learn of the residents of the Empire City.

This great library and these great museums, parallel in position, in activity, and in richness, each in its special sphere, will themselves furnish a greater display to the visitor than any exposition yet held upon the continent.

The water-front elevated structures and the new station at the Bronx suggested by Mayor Low, if built, will do much to aid the installation of exhibits and to carry passengers to an exposition; so that 1,000,000 strangers could pass as quietly in and out of New York as a quarter of a million do to-day.

Just now, and for some time to come, the good wishes of the world are and will be concentrated on St. Louis. We all expect great things of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. No exposition ship has ever sailed under clearer skies. There have never been more ample financial provisions, nor a president better equipped than David R. Francis in strength, ambition, executive ability and integrity. With him is associated a local board of high character. Too much money to spend seems to be the chief peril in the path of the St. Louis Fair. And the integers of 1903 add up thirteen—although the change of date to 1904 puts it out of the power of the superstitious to do harm.

Surely some of the great St. Louis fund should be used for the construction of a permanent art or industrial structure, of which the country might always be proud—just as the Field Columbian Museum would probably never have existed had it not been for the Chicago Fair.

There will be other expositions, before and after those two, whose distinction must be pronounced. But they will not always be managed on American precedents. The methods of specialization and organization which are prevailing everywhere in American business life will be introduced also into exposition management. In every other than a financial sense, every exposition held in the United States has been successful. No one of them has failed to benefit directly and indirectly every part of our great country—a result far better than if they had succeeded as money-making enterprises but failed in the higher ideals and utilities.

GEORGE FREDERICK KUNZ.

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THE PUBLIC DEBT OF ITALY.

BY MAGGIORINO FERRARIS.

THE history of the Italian Public Debt reflects the long and generous struggle for national unity and independence, and the noble efforts which, since the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in the year 1861, have been made in order to promote and strengthen national finance and prosperity.

The whole system of Public Debt in Italy rests on the Act of Parliament of July 10th, 1861, by which the so-called *Gran Libro,* or "Great Book of the Public Debt," was instituted. Practically, the Great Book represents the amount of the national debt, which is by law inscribed in it, under the guarantees and the privileges which the law provides.

These guarantees have their first foundation in the *Statuto,* or Constitution, which King Charles Albert granted to Piedmont in 1848, and which became lately, without any change, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy. Clause 31 of the Constitution provides that: "The Public Debt is guaranteed. Any engagement of the State towards its creditors is inviolable."

The present Kingdom of Italy, with an area of 110,646 square miles and a population of about thirty-three millions, is the result of the union and amalgamation of all the old petty States into which the peninsula was divided. It is obvious, therefore, that the present amount of the Italian Public Debt must be traced to the following sources:

(1) The unification of old debts inherited by the small States which existed before national unity.

(2) War debts, chiefly contracted in order to carry on the great national wars of 1859 and 1866.

(3) Debts incurred for the purpose of consolidating and improving the new kingdom, both by making up the deficit of the

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annual Budget and by developing public works, railways and the economical resources of the country.

Before examining the items of the Debt in detail, let us consider the different kinds of stocks and debentures which compose the Public Debt of Italy. Unfortunately, the Act of Parliament of the year 1861, creating the Great Book, was not always or uniformly carried out, so that we have a great variety of arrangements, from which a certain confusion arises. Practically, we find at first a fundamental distinction, between (1) debts administered by the office of the Public Debt; (2) debts administered by the Treasury; and (3) Floating Debts. The first class is inscribed in the Great Book, under different headings; the second and the third classes are not. But this distinction has no real practical importance; it is only of an administrative character. All public debts, whether inscribed or not, are equally guaranteed and inviolable.

A more important distinction is that which reflects the nature of the different kinds of stocks issued. They may be classified as follows: (1) Consols; (2) Redeemable Debts; (3) Treasury Bills; (4) Inconvertible paper money; (5) Miscellaneous. Each of these classes presents several subdivisions; we can only point out the most important ones.

Consols are the real foundation of the Italian Public Debt, and they may be classified in the following way:

OLD CONSOLS.

5 per cent. Consols, gross, international.
3 per cent. Consols, gross, international.

NEW CONSOLS.

4½ per cent. Consols, net, internal.
4 per cent. Consols, net, international.
3½ per cent. Consols, net, international.

According to this classification, we must begin by distinguishing between debts whose *gross* interest is subject to income tax, even abroad, and debts whose *net* interest is totally exempt from taxation. The income tax on the interest of Public Debts was introduced in the year 1864, and was gradually increased till it reached 20 per cent. in the year 1894. Practically, it amounts to a deduction from the interest, as the coupon is paid net; so that 5 per cent. consols give a revenue of 4 per cent; 3 per cent. consols, a revenue of 2 2-5 per cent. On the contrary, no deduction

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is made on the coupons of 4½ per cent., 4 per cent., or 3½ per cent. consols.

Another important distinction is that between *international* and *internal* debt. The great mass of Italian Public Debts is of an international character; it can be and it is, in fact, negotiated at the exchanges of different countries, especially in Paris, Berlin and London. The coupon is paid in gold in foreign cities; it is paid in inconvertible paper currency at home.

The total amount of the Italian Public Debt may be described as follows in round figures:

Description.	Annual Interest. (Dollars.)	Total Capital. (Dollars.)
5 per cent. Consols (4 per cent. net)	80,000,000	1,600,000,000
3 per cent. Consols (2.40 per cent. net)	960,000	32,000,000
4½ per cent. Consols, net	12,000,000	268,000,000
4 per cent. Consols, net	1,550,000	39,000,000
Miscellaneous annuities	1,200,000	27,000,000
Redeemable debts	20,000,000	425,000,000
Floating debt, railway annuities, and miscellaneous	22,000,000	600,000,000
State notes	—	89,000,000
Total dollars	137,710,000	3,080,000,000

A recent Act of Parliament of June 12th, 1902, has created a new description of consols: the 3½ per cent., as a net and international stock, into which some of the old stock is being converted. Great importance is attached to this new stock, of which a small quantity, to the amount of $16,000,000 was issued quite recently by the Treasury, at the price of 96. It is expected that the new 3½ per cent. consols will become the staple stock of the near future, and the principal aim of Italian finance is to bring about a conversion of the 5 per cent. stock (4 per cent. net) into 3½ per cent.

In the second place, we have the so-called Redeemable Debts, mostly consisting of 3 per cent. and 5 per cent. Railway Bonds, issued at different times for the construction and purchase of railways. They do not deserve special notice, except for the fact, that besides the income tax at the rate of 20 per cent. to which the interest on them is subject, they also pay a small yearly tax on their negotiability. This description of Redeemable Debts includes a rather large variety, comprising about 40 different kinds of bonds. Their total extinction will not take place till 1985. The so-called 3 per cent. Railway Bonds are the principal item

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in this class. Bearers of these have the option to change them into the new 3½ per cent. consols.

No special observation is required as to Treasury Bills, which the government is authorized to issue to the maximum amount of $60,000,000, for the temporary needs of the Exchequer. They represent the substantial part of the Floating Debt. It would be also useless for practical purposes to give any detailed information as to the great variety of miscellaneous debts, which have frequently arisen from accidental causes: purchase of railways, local wants, extinction of different charges, etc. As an interesting fact it may be stated, however, that in the year 1871, when Rome and the Papal States were annexed to Italy, a permanent annuity of $645,000 was inscribed in the Public Debt in favor of the Holy See. But the annuity has never been claimed by the Pope, and no money has been ever paid on this account.

Paper money is the weak point of Italian finance, since the patriotic but unfortunate war of the year 1866 with Austria. As soon as a forced currency was introduced, there was almost no limit to the variety of notes, especially of small 10 *centesimi* and 20 *centesimi* notes—issued by private banks and even by small shopkeepers. Great confusion and disorder were the natural consequences, and it is now almost impossible to understand how this state of matters could have lasted for several years. It was only by the Act of Parliament of April 30th, 1874, that private issues were stopped, and a regular system of forced paper currency was introduced. According to that law, paper circulation was divided into two classes: (1) Bank notes issued by the six Banks of Issue: Banca d' Italia, Banca Nazionale Toscana, Banca Toscana di Credito, Banca Romana, Banco di Napoli, Banco di Sicilia;* and (2) State notes issued by the same banks, but on account of the Treasury.

As soon as the inconvertible paper currency was introduced in the year 1866, there appeared, as its natural outcome, the gold premium. The history of Italian finance for the last quarter of a century is but a continuous though ineffectual effort to redeem the country from the bane of the gold premium and from its deleterious consequences.

* "*Banco*" is the old term, and is still the official designation for the Banco di Napoli, Banco di Sicilia, which are public corporations. "*Banca*" is the modern term for the new Joint Stock Companies, like the Banca d' Italia.

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In the history of inconvertible paper currency in Italy, four distinct periods may be traced:

(1) From the war of the year 1866 up to the Banking Act of April 30th, 1874, by which some order was introduced into the paper currency of the country;

(2) From the Banking Act of 1874 to the Act of April 7th, 1881, for the resumption of specie payment;

(3) From the Act of the year 1881 to the new Banking Act of August 10th, 1893, which, after the failure of the Banca Romana, and the union with the Banca d' Italia of the two Tuscan banks, reduced to three the number of the Banks of Issue, viz., the Banca d' Italia, Banco di Napoli, and Banco di Sicilia.

(4) From the Act of the year 1893 up to the present date.

The following table contains the principal figures relating to the above-indicated periods:

Period.	Circulation of Banks.	Proportion of Metallic Reserve.	Circulation of State Notes.	Exchange on Paris.		Price in Paper Money of Five Per Cent. Consols.	
	Dollars.	Per Cent.	Dollars.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.
1866–1874 .	125,000,000	33	176,000,000	115.70	108.55	76.00	56.20
1874–1881 .	147,000,000	33	188,000,000	101.55	98.72	92.55	86.32
1881–1893 .	244,000,000	33	70,000,000	115.95	103.97	97.49	89.35
1893–1901 .	197,000,000	40	89,000,000	107.05	104.35	102.57	97.00
June, 1902.	192,000,000	40	89,000,000	101.50		104.50	

The three Banks of Issue are also empowered to issue notes to an unlimited amount, provided that they are fully covered by gold. The present amount of such notes is about $20,000,000.

Several circumstances characterized these different periods.

In the first period (1866-1874), besides complete disorder in the issue of paper money, national finance, owing to the campaigns of the years 1866 and 1870, was in a very bad condition. The deficit in the State Budget reached $144,000,000 in the year 1866, during the war with Austria, and gradually fell to almost $2,000,000 in the year 1874, chiefly owing to the noble efforts of Sella and Minghetti, the two leaders of the Conservative party then in power.

The second period (1874-1881) gave hopes of a rapid improvement in the economic conditions of the country. The Budget presented an increasing surplus, which reached almost $11,000,000 in the year 1881. The Liberal party having come to power

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in the year 1876, abolished the unpopular flour tax; projected railways and large public works, and increased public expenditure of every kind in a rather lavish way. At the same time, government attempted to resume specie payment. The forced paper money in circulation amounted to $188,000,000; $68,000,000 were converted into small one-dollar and two-dollar notes; $120,000,000 were redeemed at par in gold. This amount of gold had been obtained by a loan, through the issue of consols, especially on the English market, through Messrs. Hambro & Sons. The prospects of the country at that time were so good that, as soon as the Bill for the resumption of specie payment was introduced into Parliament, the rate of exchange on Paris dropped very rapidly almost to 100, and the gold premium totally disappeared.

No sooner had this period of growing prosperity set in, than the government and the country lost sight of every principle of wise economy. Public expenditure increased continuously, so that the unprecedented surplus of almost $11,000,000 in the year 1881 soon converted itself into a small deficit in the year 1884, which increased up to $47,000,000 in the year 1889-90! The State construction of new railways proceeded so rapidly that large loans were issued every year in order to pay for them, up to the amount of nearly $60,000,000, in the single year 1887-88. Exchange speculation, unsound joint-stock companies, overbuilding in large towns, especially in Rome and Naples, grew to such an extent, as to induce both the government and the Banks of Issue to make an illegal over-issue of paper money. Under such conditions, the resumption of gold payments soon became a failure; the gold premium reappeared; consols fell; banks failed or were utterly crippled; and there ensued a protracted financial and economical depression. This crisis reached its climax in the years 1889-1892.

When Crispi's cabinet was formed in the year 1893, the financial situation of the country was most serious. Especially through Signor Sonnino's endeavors, there began a new period of financial retrenchment and of economical reconstruction. Unfortunately, the war with Abyssinia broke out, and the country again passed through a short period of depression. That war, though most unfortunate, did not cost the country more than $30,000,000, which were added to the Public Debt. But, the Di Rudini cabinet soon began to restore order to the public finances,

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and by the year 1896-97, the surplus of effective income over expenditure reappeared. This surplus has been increasing from year to year, as appears from the following figures:

SURPLUS IN THE ITALIAN BUDGET.

Years.	Surplus Millions. Dollars.
1900–1901	11.67
1899–1900	7.68
1898–1899	6.51
1897–1898	1.85

The surplus—owing especially to large imports of wheat, subject to the duty of $1 50 per double cwt.—increased up to almost $12,000,000 last year; but the surplus is seriously diminishing in the present year. While the third period (1881-1893) was one of long depression and of serious crisis, the new period (1894-1902) presents a constant and gradual improvement in the conditions of the country. During the last two years, not only could the government stop new issues of loans or consols, but it even began to pay off a certain amount of redeemable debts. Even the construction of new railways, to the amount of about $4,000,000 a year, and the expenditure on account of China, at the rate of $2,000,000 a year, are paid out of current revenue, without having recourse to new loans.

The course of national finance and of the Public Debt reflects the political events through which the country has passed. In the second half of the past century, the great deed of national unity, independence and consolidation was accomplished. It was a period of continuous patriotic agitations, of external wars, of internal development. The present Kingdom of Italy is the result of a great patriotic movement which ended with the amalgamation into one nation of several small States, which often presented very inferior economical and social conditions. In many provinces, especially in the South, there were no railways, no highroads, no bridges, no schools. Everything had to be created; and those who frequently complain of the present social condition of Italy, most probably ignore the fact that it was an enormous task, beyond the power of a single generation, to build up the new edifice of civilization and progress.

Several technical points relating to the management of the Public Debt have for many years been the subject of much debate.

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The fact that a certain amount of the Italian Public Debt is still held by foreign holders, especially in France and Germany, has two opposite consequences. On the one hand, it increases the capital and the credit of the country through the influx of foreign capital. On the other, it constitutes a heavy foreign debt in gold, for which the country must pay annual gold interest. Whenever any sudden political or financial crisis of an international character arises, Italian consols fall at foreign exchanges more rapidly than at home, and the rates of exchange are so immediately troubled that the gold premium rises. This fact has led some competent observers to believe that a permanent resumption of specie payment in Italy is hardly possible so long as a considerable proportion of our National Debt is held abroad. Though we do not believe that there are solid grounds for such an apprehension, we must remember that the country is gradually redeeming her foreign debt, by national savings. The gold interest which the Italian Treasury yearly pays on consols and stocks held abroad is gradually diminishing, as appears from the following figures:

INTEREST PAID ABROAD IN GOLD ON PUBLIC DEBTS.

Year.	Dollars.
1900	12,300,000
1899	14,800,000
1898	16,200,000
1897	17,300,000
1896	17,800,000
1895	19,400,000
1894	19,000,000
1893	39,400,000

In round figures it may be said, that during the last seven years Italy redeemed about $200,000,000 of the National Debt held by foreign holders, and that about $280,000,000 of her Public Debt is still held in foreign hands, especially in Germany and France. But the absorption of our National Debt from other countries is going on well.

Though there are some dissentient voices, the preference for stocks of an international character is increasing, and the new 3½ per cent. consols belong to this category. The general opinion is, that notwithstanding our foreign debt, the annual monetary balance is in favor of Italy, on account of the large remittances of our emigrants, scattered over all the world, especially in Amer-

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ica, and of the continuous increase of foreign travellers in Italy. The movement of foreigners in this country is greatly developing: from San Remo and Nervi in the Riviera, to Florence, Rome, Naples and Sicily, the whole country is visited by a continuous crowd of foreigners. Associations are now being promoted all over the country in order to encourage and facilitate such a movement; and it is estimated that the annual remittances to Italy on account of foreign travellers amount to as much as $80,000,000. A large proportion of this sum is contributed by citizens of the United States, and the whole movement goes far towards determining a monetary balance in favor of the country.

Another point, which is frequently raised, relates to the issue of consols or of redeemable debts. No doubt the issue of gradually terminable annuities is to be preferred in theory. But in a new country, like Italy, public wants are so numerous, that every attempt to issue annuities failed. As soon as the sums to be devoted to the extinction of annuities increased to a high figure, proposals arose to convert redeemable debts into consols, in order to avoid new taxation. As a natural consequence, the extinction of Public Debts is progressing rather slowly, and much less rapidly than was often contemplated.

In old times, especially during the period of the national wars, consols were frequently issued at a heavy discount below par. Frequently enough 5 per cent. gross consols were issued at a price between 70 and 80; more recently 3 per cent. gross Railway Bonds were issued at about 60. At present, the best authorities agree that loans must be issued as near par as possible, and the new issue of 3½ per cent. net consols has been made, as we have said, at 96.

It is often affirmed, chiefly by foreign writers on Italian finance, that the country is crushed by the amount of her Public Debt. There is much exaggeration in this statement, though it may have an apparent foundation in the fact that out of a total annual revenue of $346,000,000, the Budget is charged with $137,000,000 of interest on Public Debts of various descriptions, besides civil and military pensions to the amount of $16,000,000. This apparent proportion of 40 per cent. between the interest on Public Debt and the total revenue is rather an unfavorable one. But it must be mentioned that, on a large portion of the interest

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on Public Debts, there is a taxation of 20 per cent., so that the net payments are reduced to about $120,000,000. Moreover, more than a third of the Public Debt was contracted in order to construct or purchase railways, which yield about $20,000,000 net revenue to the State, so that the annual burden to the Treasury is scarcely more than $100,000,000. The proportion, though a heavy one, does not justify the pessimistic views which have frequently prevailed in some quarters.

Italy was gradually progressing between 1870 and 1880, when a period of unprecedented financial and economic folly set in, in the years 1881-1893. But the inevitable reaction soon began: two different Ministers of Finance, Luzzatti in 1891 and Sonnino in 1894, began a sound policy of retrenchment and laid the foundation of the present improved financial situation. Public expenditure and public works were largely cut down, new taxation was firmly imposed, the Budget was restored to order, and began to present increasing surpluses up to last year. As a natural consequence, the increase of the Public Debt has been stopped, and even a certain annual reduction, especially in the floating debt, has been operated. Meanwhile, some attempts were made to strengthen and improve the financial condition of provinces and municipalities; but many reforms have yet to be adopted in this field.

Notwithstanding a large number of labor disputes between masters and workmen, especially in the agricultural districts, notwithstanding the growth of a socialistic party, Italy enjoys at present a period of sound national finance and economy. Wealth is progressing and accumulating, wages are improving, though the supply of labor, especially in agricultural districts and with the middle classes, is in excess of the demand.

It only remains to hope that, in the near future, the country may be governed in a wise spirit of retrenchment and reform, and with an active policy, which is necessary in order firmly to establish and to increase her prosperity.

MAGGIORINO FERRARIS.

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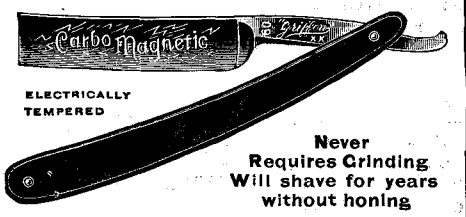

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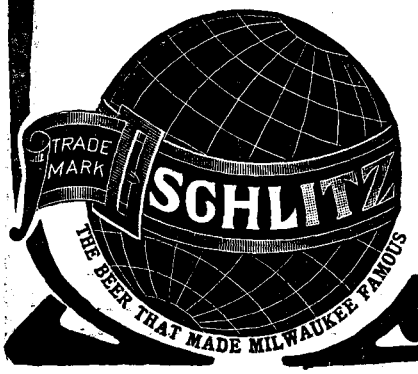

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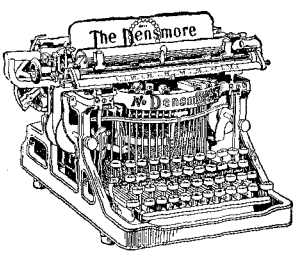

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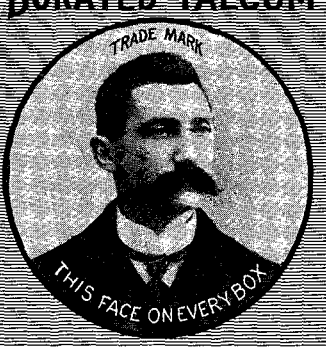

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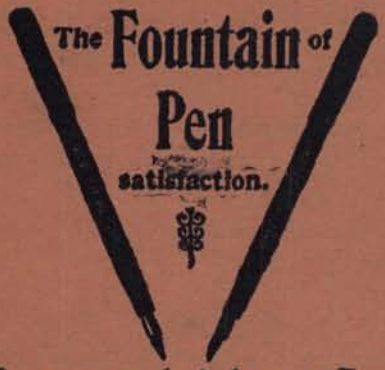

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